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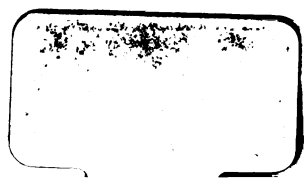

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

MOST MATERIAL TRANSACTIONS

IN

ENGLAND,

FOR

THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS,

PRECEDING THE REVOLUTION IN 1688.

By JAMES WELWOOD, M.D.

PHYSICIAN IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY, AND FELLOW OF THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS, LONDON.

A NEW EDITION.

LONDON:

REPRINTED IN 1820; FROM A COPY OF THE WORK SAID TO BE THE THIRD EDITION, WHICH WAS PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1700.

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1820.

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TO THE KING.

SIR,

THE Great Patrons of Liberty have not thought it below them to become the Patrons of History: and any thing of that kind which concerns England, does naturally claim the protection of a Prince, who by his valor and conduct has not only restored to the English Nation that figure they had lost in the world for near an hundred years past, but has raised them to a greater than ever they had before: a Prince, who in all he has done for the common safety of Europe, could have no brighter examples to follow, than those of his own Family: for when others have fought for dominion and power, vain empty notions, and destructive to mankind; it has ever been a glory peculiar to the House of Nassau, to have fought for LIBERTY, the noblest cause, and the greatest stake that mortals can contend for.

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Let some Princes pretend to fading laurels, by depopulating countries, oppressing their neighbours, and enslaving free People; the surest and best way to transmit a glorious name to posterity, is to relieve the oppressed, break off their fetters, and set the world free.

These require no varnish to set off their true lustre; whilst those are obliged to make use of false colors to palliate the highest injustice. Let them value themselves upon a greatness that is borrowed from schemes that could hardly fail, as being transmitted to them from the long experience of the ablest Ministers, and most refined Statesmen of the age: that Prince, who without these helps at his first appearance on the stage, has by the mere strength of his own genius surmounted difficulties that would have palled any courage but his own, and at length has broke all those measures that had of a long time been concerting towards the enslaving of Christendom, cannot fail to make one of the noblest and brightest figures in History.

If it be the prerogative of an Almighty Power and Goodness to set bounds to the raging sea, it must be the highest and most justifiable imitation of it, to put a stop to the ambition of men, and to shelter nations from their fury. It is in this sense chiefly, that Kings may be called Gods: and

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and it is pity that the lives of such were not as immortal as their deeds.

The memory of that Prince must be lasting, who, in all the wars he has been engaged in, and in all the Treaties that have been made to restore peace to his country, has never made any terms for himself; except once, when the interest of Three Kingdoms, and his own, were become one and the same.

When succeeding ages shall see scarce any other coin in England but of one stamp, they must look back with amazement upon the Reign of a Prince whose image it bears; and wonder how it was possible, that during the heat of the most expensive war that ever was, so vast a treasure could be new minted, and at so prodigious a loss: while at the same time they will commend and bless a People, that with so much cheerfulness assisted him with supplies suitable to such mighty undertakings. They will be no less surprized to find, that amidst a great many hardships and disappointments which could not be avoided, his Armies followed him with an inviolable fidelity and inimitable courage: and will hardly believe, that it was within the compass of human prudence to cement so many jarring interests, and unite so many Princes of different Religions into one alliance, and to influence their firm adherence to that Alliance, till

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the glorious conclusion of a General Peace.

SIR,

All these great things were reserved for Your Majesty, which will be admired and extolled by posterity, no less than they are by the present age: and it is but reasonable that the memory of such actions should live for ever. The following sheets, containing a short view of the various disposition of affairs in England for a whole century before your Majesty's happy Accession to the Crown, I humbly beg leave to lay at your Majesty's feet, with the most profound submission and duty, that becomes,

May it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most Humble,

Most Faithful, and most

Obedient Subject and Servant,

JAMES WELWOOD.

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TO THE READER.

THESE sheets were written some years ago, by the encouragement of One whose memory will be ever sacred to posterity. It is needless to mention the occasion: and they had not been published now, if a surreptitious copy of a part of the manuscript had not crept abroad. I can hardly expect they should please in an age like this, that is fond only of what is written for, or against a Party: for I have traced truth as near as I could, without espousing any one interest or faction. I hope I may venture to say, that I have trod as softly as was possible over the graves of the dead, and have not aggravated the errors of the living. As to the latter, it is enough that we are delivered from their power, without insulting over their misfortunes; and it is unworthy of a generous mind, to trample upon those that are already down.

Most of the accounts I have seen of the transactions of those times, are partial to some one side, which being one of the greatest blemishes of History, I have

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endeavoured to avoid: but whether I have fallen into the same error myself, it is the reader must be now judge. I leave satire and panegyric to others. I envy no man the art of making court to the Great by flattery, and have not ill-nature enough for detraction.

The design of these Memoirs being only to give a short idea of the thread of affairs in England, for the space of a Hundred Years, it is not to be expected that I should have observed the rules of a Regular History, much less any niceness of method, or exactness in the narration. As to the stile, I have taken very little pains about it; and all I have aimed at, is to be understood.

In the account I have given of the last Reign, I would not be thought to reflect upon the Roman-Catholics in general, for what a party among them is chargeable. They were chiefly the bigots of some Religious Orders, and the New Converts, that advised and carried on those violences which in the end overturned their Master's Throne: and it is hoped the Roman-Catholics have reason to be satisfied with their condition under the present Reign, since they enjoy an unenvied Liberty of their Religion, without incurring the hatred of their fellow-subjects for being in a design to overturn the Established Church; which was their case under the late King James.

And

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And as I am far from wishing them less Liberty than they have, yet cannot but regret the hard usage which the Protestants meet with in other countries, and wish they were but as well treated there, as the Roman-Catholics are here.

Before I have done, I beg leave to take notice of a pamphlet that came out last summer, called "Cursory Remarks upon "the Proceedings of the Last Session of "Parliament." The gentleman that wrote it, had not only the honesty to publish an answer to his own book, but in that answer to insinuate that I was the author of it. All the use I shall make of this unusual Liberty of the Press, is to declare, that I have not published any one paper, pamphlet, or book, these six years: and though I have but little leisure, and yet less inclination to appear again in print, yet if ever I alter my resolution, and publish any thing hereafter, I will certainly put my name to it; as I have done to these Memoirs.

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A PREFACE

TO THE PRESENT EDITION

OF

DOCTOR JAMES WELWOOD'S MEMOIRS

Of the most material Transactions in England for the Last Hundred Years preceding the Revolution in the Year 1688.

THIS historical work of Dr. Welwood has been printed at least three different times; but nevertheless the copies of it are grown scarce and difficult to be met with. And therefore as I think it a most valuable work, full of truth on the most important events of the century to which it refers, and of striking proofs of the truth of the several facts which he relates, I hope I shall be thought to have done my country a good service in causing it to be again reprinted, in a copious Edition.

And at the end of this excellent work of Dr. Welwood, I have caused to be reprinted a few pages taken from Mr. Ralph's very

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very copious and well-written History of England, from the Restoration of King Charles the Second to the end of the reign of King George the First, in two large volumes in folio, published in the year 1744, which relate to the Death of King Charles the Second, which happened only a few days after he had taken a resolution to be reconciled to his people, and immediately to call a new Parliament, in order to recover their good affections.

FRANCIS MASERES,

Of the Inner Temple,

Cursitor Baron of the Court of Exchequer.

June 21, 1820.

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MEMOIRS

OF

THE MOST MATERIAL TRANSACTIONS IN ENGLAND,

For the last Hundred Years

PRECEDING THE REVOLUTION IN 1688.

THERE is not a nation in Europe, that from the Constitution of its Government might have promised itself a more firm and lasting repose than England; and yet scarce any kingdom we know upon earth hath suffered so many and various convulsions: as if some malevolent planet had over-ruled one of the best of human constitutions, and by an unaccountable fatality had rendered ineffectual all the endeavors of our ancestors to make themselves and their posterity happy under a limited monarchy. A monarchy, in which the prerogative of the prince, and the liberty of the people, are so equally tempered, that there seems nothing wanting that may tend to the happiness of either.

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The excellency of the English Constitution.

The King of England has the glory to rule over a free people; and the people of England that of being subject to a monarch, who by the laws of the country is invested with as much power and greatness as a wise and beneficent prince can reasonably wish for. To complete all, the crown of England has been for many ages hereditary, and fixed in one family: the breaches that have been sometimes made in the immediate line, not at all derogating from the nature of a successive monarchy, so long as a due respect is had to the blood, and for the most part the next immediate heir, except only upon great and urgent difficulties and emergencies. The crown being thus hereditary, it might have reasonably been expected, that we should not only be strangers to the inconveniencies that arise naturally from competitions in elective kingdoms, but that it should be always the interest of the prince that is in possession of the throne, so to govern his people as not to put them upon the necessity at any time to break through the succession, and pass by the next immediate heir.

But such is the brittle state of human things, that notwithstanding all the advantages and excellencies of the English Constitution, scarce an age has passed without some remarkable struggle, either between King and People for Prerogative and

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Liberty, or between Competitors for the Crown itself.

The glory of England was arrived to a high pitch in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Her people lived at their ease, and were happy under her auspicious conduct; and her oppressed neighbours felt the benign influences of her great and bountiful mind. She it was that made head against the then paramount power of Christendom, and that in both the old and new worlds: and it was in a great measure owing to her conduct and fortune that the Spaniard fell short of the universal monarchy. The reign of Queen Elizabeth.

To draw a picture worthy of Queen Elizabeth, were a task fit only for the greatest masters; since all that ever was great or wise in womankind did contribute to make up her character. As to her person, she had but little of a regular beauty in her face; but that was well-proportioned, and in the main very agreeable. Her mien and gait were noble; and in every thing she said or did, there was something of majesty that struck more awe than love; though when she had a mind, she could put on charms that few were able to resist. In her features, person, and mien, she had more of Henry the Eighth than of the unfortunate Anna Bullen, her mother; but they were his Her character.

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good, and none of his ill qualities, which she derived from her father.

Her youth was a continued scene of afflictions; but she was happy in that she suffered one of the greatest, before she was capable of feeling the weight of it; for she was scarce three years old, when her mother was sacrificed to the rage and jealousy of her husband. And she that had been the year she was born, declared not only Heir Apparent of the Crown, but (which was out of the ordinary road) Princess of Wales, and that by Act of Parliament, was now by another Act declared illegitimate, and excluded from the succession.

Notwithstanding this strange reverse of fortune, particular care was taken of her education, especially by her brother Edward the Sixth, who loved her above all things, and was scarce ever pleased but in her company. Before she was seventeen years of age she understood perfectly well the Latin, French, and Italian tongues: and was so far mistress of the Greek, that she translated into Latin two of Isocrates' Orations; one of which I have seen of her own hand-writing, corrected by her tutor but in three places, whereof one is an error only in the orthography. She was indefatigable in the study of learning, especially Philosophy, History, Divinity, and

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Rhetoric; not forgetting both vocal and instrumental music, as far as it might become one of her quality.

Being thus learned, it was no wonder she formed her tongue and pen to a pure and elegant way of speaking and writing, and her mind to the noblest notions of philosophy, and the highest practice of virtue.

Her brother dying, Queen Mary's hereditary aversion to her upon the account of their mothers, broke out with all the marks of ill-nature and revenge. And Philip the Second, who proved afterwards her greatest enemy, was the person that preserved her life; but it was upon a mere political design, which, however, miscarried. During all that reign the Princess Elizabeth was tost from one confinement to another; being obliged many times to suffer indignities far unworthy of her birth; till at last, by the death of Queen Mary, she was called from a prison to a throne, at the age of twenty-five years. Upon receipt of the news of her sister's death, and that she herself was proclaimed Queen, it is said she fell down upon her knees, and after a short silence broke out with these words of the Psalmist, *A Domino factum est istud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris:* which words she took afterwards for her motto in some of her gold coin.

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During all the time of her reign she would never allow her title to be debated or reasoned upon, nor so much as explained or vindicated. She thought it sufficient that she wore the crown, and was resolved, and knew well how to maintain it upon her head, without the help of paper arguments. She received with indignation a proposition that was made to her, to have her title asserted in Parliament; and scorned to repeal even the Act which declared her illegitimate, and incapable to succeed.

Her reign was long and glorious, being loved of her people, feared and admired by her enemies, and attended with constant success in all her enterprises. Never Prince was better served, nor more happy in the choice of her servants; and no age can instance such a set of able ministers as she had. Her court at home was the quiet and happy seat of the Muses, while her fleets and armies abroad gathered laurels every where for their mistress and themselves.

She had to perfection the art of pleasing her Parliament; and she and they never parted in discontent, but with the highest proofs of mutual confidence. What sort of men they were that composed the House of Commons during her reign, and of how different a stamp from those in that of her successor, is best expressed in the

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the words of Sir Robert Naunton, secretary to King James, who was a Member of Parliament in both reigns; which may not be improper to insert in the Appendix.

Appendix, Numb. I. page 261. The character of the Members of Parliament in Queen Elizabeth's reign.

If Queen Elizabeth can be properly said to have had *favorites*; they were chiefly the Earls of Leicester and Essex; but she never failed to humble them upon every occasion, where they presumed too much upon her favor. The one she recalled with ignominy from his government of the United Provinces, for behaving himself haughtily in his office: and at another time, upon his threatening Bower, the Usher of the Black Rod, to have him turned out of his place for stopping one of his retinue at the Queen's bedchamber door, she told him with a severe frown, accompanied with an oath, "My Lord, "I had a mind to do you good, but you "must not expect a monopoly of my "favors: I have other subjects to show "my bounty to; and I will give and take "back again, when, and as often as I "please. If you pretend to command "here, I'll find ways to humble you. I "know of no master, but I will make you "know there is a mistress. And take "care upon your peril, that no hurt be "done Bower, for I'll make you answer "for him." The misfortune of the Earl of Essex every body knows: though other-

Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia.

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wise a brave gentleman, and endowed with excellent qualities, yet he valued himself too much upon the Queen's favour, which, together with the contrivances of his enemies, hurried him on to courses that in the end lost him his head.

A monarch supported with a *Burleigh*, a *Walsingham*, a *Salisbury* for the *cabinet*, a *Nottingham*, a *Drake*, a *Raleigh* for *war*; with a great many others equally fit for both, could scarce fail of being great and fortunate; nor can any thing reflect more lustre upon her wisdom, than her choice of such men.

The character of Sir Francis Walsingham.

Walsingham was a pattern for all statesmen to copy after. By his vigilance and address he preserved his mistress's crown and life from daily attempts and conspiracies against her; and by a refined piece of policy defeated for a whole year together the measures Spain had taken for fitting out their Armada to invade England.

The vast preparations that were making for a considerable time in Spain, kept all Europe in suspense, and it was not certain against whom they were designed; though it was the general opinion they were to subdue the Netherlands all at once; which Spain was sensible could not be done without a greater force by sea as well as land, than had been hitherto employed for that service. Queen Elizabeth thought fit to be upon her guard, and had some jealousies

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lousies that she might be aimed at; but how to find it out was the difficulty, which at length Walsingham overcame.

He had intelligence from Madrid, that Philip had told his council that he had despatched an express to Rome with a letter written with his own hand to the Pope, acquainting him with the true design of his preparations, and asking his blessing upon it; which for some reasons he would not yet disclose to them, till the return of the courier. The secret being thus lodged with the Pope, Walsingham, by the means of a Venetian priest retained at Rome as his spy, got a copy of the original letter, which was stolen out of the Pope's cabinet by a gentleman of the bed-chamber, who took the keys out of the Pope's pocket while he slept. How upon this intelligence Walsingham found a way to retard the Spanish invasion for a whole year, by getting the Spanish bills protested at Genoa, which should have supplied them with money to carry on their preparations, being properly a mercantile affair, is needless here to mention.

I shall only give one instance more of Walsingham's dexterity in employing and instructing his spies how to get him intelligence of the most secret affairs of princes. The court of Queen Elizabeth had reason to have an eye upon the King of Scots, as being the next heir to the crown, and who they

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they knew was courted with all possible insinuations into the French interest. In order to fathom King James's intentions, there was one Wigmore sent to Scotland, who pretending to be disobliged in England, fled thither for protection. Sir Francis Walsingham gives him above ten sheets of paper of instructions, all written with his own hand, which I have read in the Cotton Library, so distinct and so digested, as a man of far inferior parts to Wigmore could hardly fail to be a master in his trade. In these papers he instructs him, "how to "find out King James's Natural Temper; "his Morals; his Religion; his Opinion of "Marriage; his Inclinations to Queen "Elizabeth, to France, to Spain, to the "Hollanders; and, in short, to all his "neighbours." He likewise directs him how to behave himself towards the King, "at Table; when a Hunting; upon his "receiving good or bad News; at his "going to Bed;" and indeed in all the public and private scenes of his life. Walsingham was not mistaken in his man; for though there passed a constant correspondence betwixt them, Wigmore lived in the greatest favor and familiarity with King James for nine or ten years together, without the least suspicion of his being a spy.

Walsingham also laid the foundation of the civil wars in France, and in the Low Countries,

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Countries, which put a final stop to the vast designs of the House of Austria. Upon which occasion he told the Queen at his return from his embassy to France, "That "she had no reason to fear the *Spaniard;* "for though he had a strong appetite, and "a good digestion, he had given him such "a bone to pick, as would take him up "twenty years at least, and break his teeth "at last: so her Majesty had no more to "do, but to throw into the fire he had "kindled some *English* fuel from time to "time, to keep it burning." This great man, after all the services he had performed for his Queen and country, gave a remarkable proof at his death how far he had preferred the public interest to his own; for he died so poor, that his friends were obliged to bury him privately in the night, for fear his body should be arrested for debt. *A fault which few statesmen since his time have been guilty of.*

Such ministers also for capacity and application were Cecil Lord Burleigh, and his son the Earl of Salisbury, the inheritor of his father's great qualities and places. How refined a politician he was, and how thoroughly acquainted with the most secret designs of foreign courts, cannot be better expressed than in the words of the same Naunton; to which the reader is referred. Appendix, Numb. II. page 264.

But to return to Queen Elizabeth. It appears by her whole conduct she had no inclination to marriage, being loth to share her

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her power with any other. It is true, she seemed sometimes to give ear to propositions that were made her by several princes; but this was done either to gain time, or manage their friendship to her own ends. When the Parliament addressed her to marry, she handsomely excused herself in a pathetic speech, concluding with this expression: "To me," said she, "it shall "be a full satisfaction both for the memo- "rial of my Name, and for my Glory also, "if when I shall let my last breath, it be "engraven upon my marble tomb, Here "lies Elizabeth, who reigned a virgin, and "died one." The whole speech is of so noble a strain, that it deserves a place in the Appendix.

Appendix, Numb. III. page 267.

She was very sparing of *honors;* insomuch, that Sir Francis Walsingham had been employed in several embassies and other matters of state for many years, before she could be prevailed with to make him a knight, notwithstanding it appears that he frequently asked it, and particularly in a printed letter of his to Cecil. The honor of knighthood, though often prostituted since, was in so great esteem in her reign, that a gentleman of Lincolnshire having raised three hundred men for her service at Tilbury camp upon his own interest, told his wife at parting, that he hoped thereby to deserve the Queen's favor so far, as that she should be a lady at his return.

She

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She had a particular friendship for Henry the Fourth of France; and to her in a great measure he owed his crown. She never laid any thing more to heart than his changing his religion: and it was a long time before she could be brought to believe it. But when she received the account of it from himself, all her constancy failed her; and in the agony of her grief, snatching up a pen, she wrote him a short expostulatory letter, worthy of herself, and of that melancholy occasion; which is related in the Appendix. This her grief (says her historian) she sought to allay by reading the sacred scriptures, and the writings of the fathers, and even the books of philosophers; translating about that time for an amusement, "*Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiæ*," into elegant English.

Appendix, Numb. IV. page 270. Cambden.

The only action that seems to reflect upon her memory was the death of Mary Queen of Scots. There had been an emulation betwixt them of a long standing, occasioned at first by the latter's assuming the arms and title of Queen of England; which it is no wonder Queen Elizabeth highly resented. A great many other accidents did contribute to alienate their affections. But when it fell out that every day produced some new conspiracy against the life of Queen Elizabeth, and that in most of them the Queen of Scots was concerned either as a party, or the occasion; Queen Elizabeth

The affair of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots.

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Elizabeth was put upon a fatal necessity of either taking off the Queen of Scots, or exposing her own person to the frequent attempts of her enemies. With what reluctancy Queen Elizabeth was brought to consent to her death, and how she was deceived at last in signing the warrant for her execution, by the over-diligence of her secretary and privy council, her celebrated historian has given us a very full and impartial account.

Cambden.

Yet Queen Elizabeth is not altogether excusable in this matter; for Queen Mary came into England upon a promise made her long before. Queen Elizabeth sent her once a ring, and at the same time a message, that if at any time she wanted her protection, she might be assured of it; and the token betwixt them was Queen Mary's sending her back the same ring. That unfortunate Princess seeing her affairs desperate in Scotland, despatched a letter to Queen Elizabeth with the ring, to put her in mind of her promise; but without waiting for an answer, she came into England the very next day. They were both to be pitied; the one for her sufferings, and the other for being the cause of them; and I have seen several letters in the Cotton Library, of Queen Mary's hand, to Queen Elizabeth, written in the most moving strain that could be; most of them in French, being the language she did generally

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rally write in. There was one, particularly, wherein she tells her, "That her long im-"prisonment had brought her to a dropsi-"cal swelling in her legs, and other dis-"eases that for the honor of her sex she "forbears to commit to paper." And concludes thus, "Your most affectionate sister "and cousin; and the most miserable "princess that ever wore a crown." When such letters as these had no influence upon Queen Elizabeth, it may reasonably be concluded, that nothing but self-preservation could oblige her to carry her resentments so far as she did.

To sum up the character of this renowned Queen in a few words: she found the kingdom, at her coming to the Throne, in a most afflicted condition, embroiled on the one side with a Scotch, and on the other with a French War; the Crown overcharged with her Father's and Brother's Debts; its Treasure exhausted, the People distracted with different Opinions in Religion; herself without Friends, with a controverted Title, and strengthened with no Alliance abroad. After one of the longest reigns that ever was, she died in peace, leaving her Country Potent at Sea, and Rich in People and Trade; her Father's and her Brother's Debts paid; the Crown without any incumbrance; a great Treasure in the Exchequer; the Coin brought to a true Standard; Religion settled upon a regular

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regular and lasting basis; herself having been admired and feared by all her neighbouring Princes, and her Friendship courted by Monarchs that had scarce ever before any further knowledge of England, but
K. James I. the name. So that her successor had good reason to say of her "That she was one "who, in Wisdom and Felicity of Govern- "ment, surpassed all Princes since the "days of Augustus."

After all, to the reproach of those she had made great and happy, she was but ill attended in her last sickness; and near her death, forsaken by all but three or four persons; every body making haste to adore the rising sun.

With Queen Elizabeth died in a great part the glory and fortune of the English nation; and the succeeding Reigns served only to render hers the more illustrious. As she was far from invading the liberties of her subjects, so she was careful to maintain and preserve her own just prerogatives; nor did ever any Prince that sat upon the English Throne, carry the true and essential parts of Royalty further: but at the same time the whole conduct of her life placed her beyond the suspicion of ever having sought greatness for any other end, than to make her people share with her in it.

The Reign of King James I. It was not so with the Prince that succeeded her. He was the more fond of *prerogative*,

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prerogative, because he had been kept short of it in his native country. He grasped at an Immoderate Power, but with an ill grace; and if we believe the historians of that time, with a design to make his people *little*. If so, he had his wish; for from his first accession to the crown, the reputation of England began sensibly to sink; and Two Kingdoms which, disunited, had made each of them apart a considerable figure in the world, now when united under one King, fell short of the reputation which the least of them had in former ages.

The latter years of King James filled our annals with little else but misfortunes at home and abroad. The loss of the Palatinate, and the ruin of the Protestants in Bohemia through his negligence; the trick that was put upon him by the House of Austria, in the business of the Spanish Match; and the continued struggle betwixt him and his Parliament, about redress of grievances, were things that helped on to lessen his credit abroad, and embitter the minds of his subjects at home.

Repenting of these unlucky measures too late, King James went off the stage, not much lamented; and left in legacy to his son, *a discontented People; an unnecessary, expensive War; an incumbered Revenue, and an exhausted Treasury;* together with the charge of his grandchildren by the Queen of Bohemia, that were now divested

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of a large patrimony, derived to them by a long series of illustrious ancestors. In fine, he entailed upon his son all the miseries that befel him; and left in the minds of his subjects those sparks of discontent, that broke out some years after into a flame of Civil War, which ended in the ruin of King Charles, and of the Monarchy with him.

His Character. This Prince, though his father and mother were esteemed the handsomest couple of the age they lived in, was himself but a homely person, nor in any of his features was to be found the least resemblance of the beautiful Mary Stuart, or Lord Darnly. No Prince had a more liberal education: and it could not well be otherwise, having the celebrated Buchanan for his tutor. He was acquainted with most parts of learning, but valued himself upon his knowledge in Divinity above the rest; in which he wrote some things that were much esteemed at that time. He wrote and spoke well, but in a style that bordered too much upon pedantry, which was indeed the common fault of that age.

As to his religion, notwithstanding all his advances to the Pope and Papists upon the account, first of the Spanish, and afterwards the French March, he was really Calvanist in most points, but that of Church-Government, witness some of his books, and his zeal for the Synod of Dort.

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But as to Episcopacy, he shewed so much learning and reading in his arguments for it at the Conference of Hampton Court, that Archbishop Whitgift said, "he was "verily persuaded the King spake by the "spirit of God."

Notwithstanding his mother was dethroned to make room for him, and consequently he could have no right, but the consent of the people while she lived; yet upon all occasions he was fond of being thought to have a *divine right* to the Crown. His courage was much suspected; and some would ascribe his want of it to the fright his mother was in upon the death of her favorite David Rizio. The troubles of his youth were various, occasioned chiefly by factions of great men that strove who should have the management of him: but when he came of age, he sought all occasions to be revenged upon such of them as were living, and the posterity of those that were dead. Goury's Conspiracy being in itself so improbable a thing, and attended with so many inconsistent circumstances, was disbelieved at the time it was said to have been attempted: and posterity has swallowed down for a truth, what their ancestors took for a mere fiction.

He came to the Crown of England by lineal descent, and the verbal designation of Queen Elizabeth upon her death-bed.

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And the conspiracy wherewith Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh were charged to set him by the English Throne, was no less mystery than that of Goury's had been before. The only uncontroverted treason that happened in his reign, was the Gunpowder Plot; and yet the letter to the Lord Monteagle, that pretended to discover it, was but a contrivance of his own; the thing being discovered to him before, by Henry the Fourth of France, through the means of Monsieur de Rhony, afterwards Duke of Sully. King Henry paid dear for his friendship to King James; and there is reason to believe that it was upon this account, among others, that a party of the church of Rome employed Ravillack to murder that great man.

The Gunpowder Plot.

The character of Prince Henry.

King James was equally happy and unhappy in every one of his children. Prince Henry was the darling of mankind, and a youth of vast hopes, and wonderful virtues; but was too soon man to be long-lived. The Duke of Sully being in England, to congratulate King James upon his accession to the crown, laid the foundation of a strict friendship betwixt his master and Prince Henry; which was afterwards carried on by letters and messages, till the death of that King. Though it is a secret to this day what was the real design of all those vast preparations that were

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were made by Henry the Fourth for some time before his death, yet certain it is, those preparations were such as kept all Europe in suspense: and I have seen some papers that make it more than probable, that Prince Henry was not only acquainted with the secret, but was engaged in the design. But whatever it was, it proved abortive, by the murder of that excellent King just at the time when it was to have been declared, his army being ready to march. Prince Henry survived him but two years, and died universally lamented. The world is very often willing to attribute the untimely death of Princes to unfair practices; and it was the general rumour at that time, that this Prince was poisoned. Whatever was in it, there is yet in print a sermon preached at St. James's upon the dissolution of his family, that boldly insinuated some such thing: and also Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor of England, in his speech at the trial of the Earl of Somerset, had some reflections upon the intimacy of that Lord with Sir Thomas Overbury, which seems to point that way; insomuch that there were several expressions left out of the printed copy, that were in the speech. But after all, there is an account in print of what was observable upon the opening of Prince Henry's body, under the hand of Sir Theodore Mayerne, and five other physicians, from

Appendix. Numb. 5. Page 278.

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which there can be no inference drawn, that he was poisoned.

Of the Q. of Bohemia.

The second of King James's children was the Princess Elizabeth, married to the Elector Palatine, who was afterwards to his ruin elected King of Bohemia. It is hard to say whether the virtues of this lady or her misfortunes were greater: for as she was one of the best of women, she may be likewise reckoned in the number of the most unfortunate. King James thought to retrieve his son-in-law's lost fortune by the way of treaty: but in that, and in every thing else, the House of Austria outwitted him; so that the poor Prince Palatine gained nothing by his alliance with England, but the hard fate to be abandoned by those whose honour and interest it was to support him. Nor had the crown of England any share in the honour of re-establishing the Palatine family, which happened thirty years after; for at the time of the Treaty of Munster, when that matter was settled, King Charles the First was so far from being in a condition to mediate for his friends, that he was himself a prisoner to those very enemies, that in a few months after the signing of that treaty, took his life. Of whom, being the youngest of King James's children, and of his misfortunes, there will be too much occasion to speak in the following sheets.

But

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But to return to King James: as he was equally happy and unhappy in his children, he was for the most part unhappy in his favorites; being obliged to abandon one upon the account of Overbury's murder; and coming to hate another the latter part of his life as much as he had ever loved him before.

The Spanish Match

In order to obtain of the Emperor the Restoration of his son-in-law, he was wheedled into that inglorious counsel of sending the Prince into Spain for a match that was either never designed him, or too late: and it was more owing to Philip the Third's generosity, than to King James's politics, that he ever saw England again. To this friendship with Spain he sacrificed his own honor, with the life of that excellent person, Sir Walter Raleigh. This gentleman, after fourteen years imprisonment in the Tower, upon the account of a mysterious treason, during which time he did oblige the world with one of the best Histories that ever was written, came to be set at liberty, and was sent with an ample commission, which was judged by lawyers equivalent to a pardon, to discover and take possession of new countries and mines in America. He gave King James the Plan of his design, and of the place he was to land at; which proved the ruin of that enterprise; for before he could get ready to sail from

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England, the Court of Spain had a copy of it; which Sir Walter Raleigh found to his sad experience was got to America before him, and had thereby enabled the Spaniards to baffle the attempt. At his return, to please the Spanish Ambassador, who had got a mighty ascendant over King James, this last of Queen Elizabeth's favorites lost his head upon the former sentence of treason, there being no other way to reach it.

K. James's conduct in the business of the Palatinate.

All our Histories have mentioned at large the business of the Spanish Match; but few, or none, King James's conduct in that of the Palatinate; which can hardly be expressed under a softer name than *one continued infatuation* on his part. The account of this matter is written with the greatest exactness, though as favorably for King James as was possible, by the learned Spanhemius, in his History of Louyse Juliane Electrice Palatine, daughter of William Prince of Orange, and mother to the King of Bohemia, who out-lived her son, and was one of the greatest patterns of virtue that any age has produced. Referring the reader to the book itself, I shall only mention a few things out of it.

To make this book and the matter of the Palatinate better understood, it is to be remembered, that the elector after his marriage with King James's daughter,

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was elected King of Bohemia, as the most powerful prince, at that time, of the empire, to oppose the House of Austria, and protect the liberty of that kingdom. He was scarce crowned, but he lost both his new kingdom, and his ancient inheritance of the Palatinate, by the battle of Prague, where his army was entirely defeated, and he himself forced to fly, leaving Bohemia and the Palatinate both, a prey to the emperor.

Though the Parliament of England was zealous to restore the Palatine family by force of arms, as the most effectual means to do it, and had offered great supplies to that purpose; yet King James was so lulled asleep with the insinuations of Gundomar, the Spanish Ambassador, that he could be brought to no other methods but those of treaty. While he was sending one embassy after another to Vienna and Brussels, the poor King of Bohemia, seeing how little was to be expected from them, ventured to try his fortune once more in the Palatinate; and with the assistance of Count Mansfield and the Duke of Brunswick, beat the Imperialists in several rencounters, and repossessed himself of several towns. But when he was in a fair way to be master of the whole, he was obliged to retire, and disband his army, merely to please King James, who was possessed of this wild notion, "That to lay

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"lay down his arms was the only way to "get good terms from the emperor." Upon which a treaty was set a-foot at Brussels, where King James consented, by way of preliminary, that his son-in-law should not only wave the title of the King of Bohemia, but that of Elector Palatine, which had not hitherto been questioned, and which the poor prince was forced to comply with.

This treaty, after a great many other mortifications put upon the Palatine family, and upon King James himself, was by a contrivance of the emperor transferred to Ratisbon, and came to nothing at last, as all the other treaties had done. But while the Imperialists were thus amusing King James with terms of accommodation, and that the King of Bohemia had disarmed himself to please his father-in-law, Heidelburgh, and all the other places he had recovered before, together with the rest of the Palatinate, were all seized by the emperor, except only Frankendale, which continued to make a vigorous resistance. It would look like a dream, to imagine that King James should oblige his son-in-law to quit this place also, the only one left him of his whole country, and that as the only effectual way to get back all the rest: yet it is true he did so, and that at the very time that the Emperor had actually transferred the Electoral Dignity

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Dignity from the Palatine Family to the House of Bavaria.

The business of Frankendale.

For Frankendale being a town then of great strength, and the Spaniards lying exposed to the daily excursions of its garison, they found a way to trick King James out of it in this manner. Gundomar represents to him, that it being the only place left in the Palatinate, it could not hold out much longer; and that there was but one way to save it for his son-in-law, which was, to put it into the hands of the governor of Flanders for some time, till things might be brought to an accommodation by the treaty then on foot; and if there should happen any interruption in it, then the town should be rendered back to King James, for the use of his son-in-law, in the same condition, together with a free passage for fifteen hundred foot, and two hundred horse, to take possession of it, and six months' provisions.

King James being willing to do any thing, rather than break with Spain, agreed to this strange proposition, and Frankendale was delivered up to the governor of Flanders for fifteen months, under these conditions. But the treaty being once more broke off, and the time elapsed when King James demanded that Frankendale should be restored, it was told him, that he might have the town, but by the terms

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of the agreement he was to have a passage for his troops through the Spanish low countries; but that there was no article, that he should have a passage through any other places that were in their possession in Germany. And thus King James was once more egregiously imposed upon, for there was no way to come at the town but through parts of Germany that were in the hands of Spain; and so the Spaniards continued masters of Frankendale.

When several other princes were some time after upon entring into a league for restitution of the Palatinate, and the House of Austria was beginning to doubt the success, Gundomar played another engine to break their measures, by proposing a match with the Infanta of Spain, for the Prince of Wales, as the *easiest* and surest way to restore the Palatine Family; which, like all the rest, was only to amuse King James, and was equally unsuccessful.

It were too long to give the detail of King James's conduct in this affair, which was all of a piece. The author sums up the ills that attended it in this, That thereby the Protestant religion was entirely rooted out of Bohemia, the electoral dignity transferred from the Palatine family, the Palatinate itself lost, the liberty of Germany overthrown; and, which he mentions with a sensible regret, the famous library

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library of Heidelburgh was carried to Rome, to the irreparable prejudice of learning.

So that Gundomar had good reason to say, in one of his letters to the Duke of Lerma, printed in the History of that Duke's Life, That he had lulled King James so fast asleep, that he hoped neither the cries of his daughter nor her children, nor the repeated solicitations of his parliament and subjects in their behalf, should be able to awaken him.

There are two passages more very observable in this author. The Court of Spain finding King James had broke off the Spanish Match, and was brought to see how egregiously he had been abused in it, they ventured upon a bold attempt to trouble his affairs, by whispering in his ears some things to make him jealous of his son: and that a good while after, when King Charles and his parliament were entering upon vigorous measures to espouse the Palatine Cause, they found ways to sow divisions between him and his people, that in progress of time broke out into a civil war. The latter needs no commentary; and the former is sufficiently explained, by what a late author has written in the life of Bishop Williams, concerning that Prelate's being instrumental in making up some secret differences betwixt King James and his son, the Prince of Wales, a little

Hacket's Life of Bp. Williams.

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little before King James's death. Spanhemius sums up what relates to this affair, with this remark, "That never prince was "more obliged to a sister than King "Charles the First was to the Queen of "Bohemia; since it was only the consi-"deration of her and her children, who "were then the next heirs after him to the "Crown of England, that prevailed with "the court of Spain to permit him to see "England again."

In the Interdict of Venice.

As in most foreign transactions King James was unhappy; so more particularly in the difference between Pope Paul V. and the Venetians. There appeared at that time a wonderful disposition in that state to work a reformation in the church, and throw off the papal yoke. In order to advance it, King James despatched Sir Henry Wotton his ambassador to Venice; and hearing that Spain had declared for the Pope, he declared for the Venetians; and acquainted Justiniani, their ambassador in England, that he would not only assist them with all the forces of his kingdom, but engage all his allies in their defence. At Sir Henry Wotton's arrival, the breach between the Pope and the Republic was brought very near a crisis; so that a total separation was expected not only from the court, but the church of Rome; which was set on by the learned Padre Paulo, and the Seven Divines of the

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the State, with much zeal, and conducted with as great prudence. The ambassador at his audience offered all possible assistance in his master's name, and accused the Pope and Papacy of being the chief authors of all the mischiefs in Christendom. This was received with great deference and respect to King James: and when the Pope's Nuncio objected, That King James was not a Catholic, and so was not to be relied upon; the Doge took him up briskly, and told him, "That the King of "England believed in Jesus Christ, but he "did not know in whom some others be-"lieved."

King James had sent with Wotton his Premonition to all Christian Princes and States, translated into Latin, to be presented to the Senate; which Padre Paulo and the other divines pressed might be done at his first audience; telling him, they were confident it would have a very good effect. The Ambassador could not be prevailed with; alledging he had positive Orders to wait till St. James's Day, which was not far off. This conceit, of presenting King James's book on St. James's Day, spoiled all; for before that day came, the difference was made up, and that happy opportunity lost. So that when he had his audience on St. James's Day, and had presented the book, all the answer he got, was, "That they thanked "the

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"the King of England for his good will, "but they were now reconciled to the "Pope, and that therefore they were re- "solved not to admit of any change in "their religion, according to their agree- "ment with the Court of Rome." How little reputation he acquired in the matter of the Venetian Interdict, appears yet more plainly in this, That in all the numerous collections we have of letters that passed on that subject between the Cardinals of Joyeuse and Perron, the Marquis de Fresnes and Henry IV. there is not the least notice taken of King James or his Embassy.

It may not be impertinent in this place to say something of that *Convocation* that was held in the beginning of this King's Reign; which had never been taken notice of in history, if it were not for the use that was made of it in our late Debates about the lawfulness of the Oaths to his present Majesty. This Convocation goes under the name of *Overal's Convocation*, and has been of late years often mentioned in print upon that account. And since a very learned Divine has told us upon a solemn occasion, That it was the Canons of this Convocation that first enlightened his eyes, and persuaded him of the lawfulness of the Oaths to his Majesty, I shall only take notice of a few things about them.

Dr. Sherlock.

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It is very probable, that this Convocation was called, to clear some doubts that King James might have had, about the lawfulness of the Hollanders' throwing off the monarchy of Spain, and their withdrawing, for good and all, their allegiance to that crown: which was the great matter then in agitation in most Courts of Christendom.

It appears plainly by some of those Canons, that the high-flown notions of *prerogative* and *absolute obedience*, which came afterwards into fashion, were not much known at that time: at least, the Clergy were not of that opinion. It is true, this was the first time that the distinction of a King *de jure* and *de facto*, was ever mentioned as a point of divinity, or a doctrine of the church; though it had been taken notice of before, and that but once, as a matter of law, in an Act of Parliament of Henry VII. But these Canons did never receive the Royal Approbation, and therefore are in the same case as if they had never been.

King James thought these points too nice to be much touched upon, and was highly displeased with the Members of that Convocation for meddling in matters which he thought were without their sphere. Thereupon he wrote that angry Letter to Dr. Abbot (afterwards Bishop of Sarum), the original of which it was my fortune

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to fall upon, and to publish upon another occasion. It is hoped the reader will not be displeased to read it again: and it runs thus.

"Good Doctor Abbot,

"I cannot abstain to give you my "judgment of your proceedings in your "Convocation, as you call it; and both as "*rex in solio*, and *unus gregis in ecclesia*, I "am doubly concerned. My title to the "crown nobody calls in question, but "they that neither love you nor me; and "you guess whom I mean. All that you "and your brethren have said of a King "in Possession (for that word I tell you, "is no worse than that you make use of in "your Canon) concerns not me at all; I "am the next Heir, and the Crown is mine "by all Rights you can name, but that of "Conquest; and Mr. Solicitor has suffi-"ciently expressed my own thoughts con-"cerning the Nature of Kingship in gene-"ral, and concerning the nature of it, "*ut in mea persona:* and I believe you "were all of his opinion: at least, none "of you said ought contrary to it, at the "time he spake to you from me. But you "know all of you, as I think, that my "reason of calling you together, was to "give your Judgments how far a Christian "and a Protestant King may concur to "assist his neighbours to shake off their

"Obedience

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"Obedience to their once Sovereign, upon "the account of Oppression, Tyranny, or "what else you like to name it. In the "late Queen's time this Kingdom was very "free in assisting the Hollanders both with "Arms and Advice. And none of your "coat ever told me, that any scrupled "about it in her Reign. Upon my coming "to England, you may know that it came "from some of yourselves to raise scruples "about this matter. And albeit I have "often told my mind concerning *Jus Regi-*"*um in Subditos*, as in May last in the Star "Chamber, upon the occasion of Hales's "pamphlet; yet I never took any notice "of these scruples, till the affairs of Spain "and Holland forced me to it. All my "Neighbours call on me to concur in the "Treaty between Holland and Spain; and "the honor of the nation will not suffer "the Hollanders to be abandoned, espe-"cially after so much money and men "spent in their quarrel: therefore I was "of the mind to call my Clergy together, "to satisfy not so much me, as the world "about us, of the justness of my owning "the Hollanders at this time: this I "needed not have done; and you have "forced me to say, I wish I had not. "You have dipped too deep in what all "kings reserve among the *Arcana Imperii*. "And whatever aversion you may profess "against God's being the Author of Sin,

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"you have stumbled upon the threshold of "that Opinion, in saying upon the matter, "that even Tyranny is God's Authority, "and should be reverenced as such. If "the King of Spain should return to claim "his old Pontifical Right to my Kingdom, "you leave me to seek for others to fight "for it; for you tell us upon the matter "beforehand, his authority is God's autho- "rity, if he prevail."

Thus far the Secretary's hand, as I take it; the rest follows in the king's own hand thus: "Mr. Doctor, I have no time to "express my mind farther in this thorny "business. I shall give you my Orders "about it by Mr. Solicitor; and until "then, meddle no more in it, for they are "edge-tools, or rather like that weapon, "that's said to cut with the one edge, and "cure with the other. I commit you to "God's protection, good Doctor Abbot, "and rest,

"Your good friend,
"JAMES R."

To have done with King James: it was said, that he divided his time betwixt his Standish, his Bottle, and his Hunting. The last had his fair weather, the two former his dull and cloudy; and therefore that it was no wonder his writings were so variable; and that after he had pleaded for

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for Witchcraft, and the Pope's being Antichrist, Somerset's affair and the Spanish Match cured him of both. After having enjoyed for the most part of his life a firm health, he died of a Quartan Ague, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and with such suspicious circumstances, as gave occasion of enquiry into the manner of his death, in the two first Parliaments that were called by his son; all which came to nothing, by reason of their sudden dissolutions.

The Reign of King Charles I.

King Charles the First came to the crown under all the disadvantages that have been mentioned; and yet the nation might have hoped that their condition would be mended under a Prince of so much virtue, as indeed he was, if the seeds of discontent, which were sown in his father's time, had not every day taken deeper root, and acquired new growth, through the ill-management of his Ministers, *rather than any wilful errors of his own.*

Some of them drove so fast, that it was no wonder the wheels and chariot broke: and it was in great part to the indiscreet zeal of a Mitred Head, that had got an Ascendant over his Master's Conscience and Councils, that both the Monarchy and Hierarchy owed afterwards their fall.

Bp. Laud.

The Division betwixt

To trace this matter a little higher; there arose in the preceding reign two opposite

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Archbishop Abbot and Bishop Laud.

Parties in the Church, which became now more than ever exasperated against each other; the one headed by Archbishop Abbot, and the other by Bishop Laud. Abbot was a person of wonderful temper and moderation; and in all his conduct shewed an unwillingness to stretch the Act of Uniformity beyond what was absolutely necessary for the peace of the Church, or the Prerogative of the Crown, any further than conduced to the good of the State. Being not well turned for a Court, though otherwise of considerable learning, and gentile education, he either could not, or would not stoop to the humour of the times: and now and then by an unseasonable stiffness, gave occasion to his enemies to represent him as not well inclined to the Prerogative, or too much addicted to a Popular Interest, and therefore not fit to be employed in matters of Government. Upon the other hand, Bishop Laud, as he was a man of greater learning, and yet greater ambition and natural parts, so he understood nicely the art of pleasing a Court; and finding no surer way to raise himself to the first Dignities of the Church, than by acting a quite contrary part to that of Archbishop Abbot, he went into every thing that seemed to favor the Prerogative of the Crown, or enforce an Absolute Obedience upon the subject.

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The King's urgent necessities, and the backwardness of the Parliament to supply them, had forced him upon unwarrantable methods of raising money; and the readiness the Roman Catholics expressed to assist him in his wants, did beget in him at first a tenderness towards them, and afterwards a trust and confidence in them; which was unhappily mistaken by his other subjects, as if he inclined to their religion.

Among other means of raising money, that of *Loan* was fallen upon; which met with great difficulties, and was generally taken to be illegal. One Sibthorp, an obscure person, in a sermon preached at the Assizes at Northampton, would make his court by asserting not only the lawfulness of this way of imposing money by Loan, but that it was the indispensable duty of the subject to comply with it. At the same time, Dr. Manwaring, another divine, preached two sermons before the King at Whitehall, in which he advanced these doctrines; viz. "That the "King is not bound to observe the Laws "of the Realm, concerning the Subject's "Rights and Liberties; but that his Royal "Word and Command in imposing Loans "and Taxes without Consent of Parlia-"ment, does oblige the Subject's Con-"science, upon pain of eternal Damna-"tion. That those who refused to pay

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"this Loan, did offend against the Law "of God, and became guilty of Impiety, "Disloyalty, and Rebellion. And that "the Authority of Parliament is not ne- "cessary for raising of Aids and Sub- "sidies."

Every body knew Abbot was averse to such doctrines: and to seek an advantage against him, Sibthorp's Sermon, with a dedication to the king, was sent him by Order of his Majesty to License. Abbot refused, and gave his reasons in writing, which Bishop Laud answered, and with his own hand licensed both Sibthorp's and Manwaring's sermons. Upon this, Archbishop Abbot was confined to his country house, and suspended from his function; the administration of which was committed to Bishop Laud, and some others of his recommendation.

Archbishop Abbot died in disgrace, and was succeeded in the See of Canterbury by Bishop Laud; while in the mean time things went on from bad to worse, and hastened to a crisis. The two first Parliaments King Charles had called, pressing him hard for redress of Grievances, and pushing on the Resentments, begun in the preceding Reign, he was prevailed with not only to dissolve them, but to leave the Nation without Parliaments for Twelve Years together; and all this contrary to the advice of some of the best and wisest men

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men about him, who foresaw the ill consequences that might follow, if ever any unlucky juncture of affairs should necessitate him to call one.

The rise of King Charles's Troubles.

Such a juncture fell out, and the worst that could be; the manner thus: The *Scots* had been of a long time sowered by the Encroachments they said were made upon their Rights and Liberties, and particularly in the matter of Church Government. Archbishop Laud's zeal for an *uniformity* between the two nations in point of *Liturgy*, proved the fatal torch that put the two kingdoms into a flame. And it was the sooner kindled, there being so much fuel laid up for many years, that the least spark was enough to set fire to the pile.

The Scotch Troubles.

In the year 1637, the Scots had not only in a tumultuous manner refused the Liturgy that was sent them from England, of Archbishop Laud's composing, but had afterwards assumed to themselves the liberty and power of holding a General Assembly of their Church, and in it to abolish Episcopacy, and do several other things that were judged inconsistent with the duty of subjects: upon which they were declared Rebels; and King Charles thought his Honour was concerned to reduce them to obedience by the Sword.

Instead of venturing to call a Parliament, to enable him to prosecute this design, he was necessitated to levy money another

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another way. Great sums were raised by Loan and Benevolence, to which the Roman Catholics and the Clergy of Laud's faction contributed most. The King thus supplied, marched to the North with a gallant army; and the Scots came as far as the Borders in a posture of defence. To prevent matters coming to extremity, the Scots presented his Majesty with their humble *Supplication* and *Remonstrance*, setting forth "their inviolable fidelity to "the Crown; and that they desired no-"thing more, but the peaceable enjoy-"ment of their Religion and Liberties; "and that all things might be determined "and settled by a Free Parliament, and "General Assemby." At length, through the intercession of the Moderate Party about the King, and some of the highest rank in both kingdoms, his Majesty was pleased to comply with the desires of the Scots, by a solemn *Pacification*, signed in view of both armies near Berwick, in June 1638.

This Treaty was but short-lived, and but ill observed on either side. The same men that counselled the King to the first, pushed him on to a second War against the Scots. Parliaments had been now discontinued for some years together, and there appeared no great inclination in the King to call any more, if this emergent occasion had not fallen out. But his pressing

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pressing necessities, and this new War obliged him once more to try the affections of his People in a Parliamentary way.

Accordingly a Parliament met in April, 1640, at the opening of which the King acquainted them with the Affronts he had received from the Scots, and demanded a Supply to reduce them to their duty by force of arms. Both Houses showed a willingness to relieve the King's wants, and offered him a considerable supply; but with this condition, *That their Grievances might be first redressed;* which had swelled up to a considerable bulk since the last Dissolution. Not only so, but the Scots had friends enough in the Parliament to hinder any great matter to be done against them; and the greater part both of Lords and Commons were but little inclined to a War of Archbishop Laud's kindling.

The King being thus disappointed, dissolved this Parliament as he had done the rest, when they had scarce sat a month; and made what shifts he could to raise a new army against the Scots. They upon the other hand being resolved not to be behind in their preparations, entered into England with a numerous army, composed for the most part of veteran officers and troops, that had served in Germany under Gustavus Adolphus, and taking Berwick and

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and Newcastle, pushed their way as far as Durham.

King Charles came in person to York, and there found himself environed with perplexing difficulties on all hands: the nobility and gentry that attended him, expressed on all occasions their dislike of the cause, and the war they were engaged in: the Scots stood firm to their ground, being flushed with success: and the King was followed from the South with Petitions from the City of London, from several Counties, and from a considerable number of Lords, desiring him "to call a "Parliament, as the only effectual means "to quiet the minds of the people, and "compose the present War without blood-"shed."

To extricate himself out of this labyrinth, King Charles summoned the Great Council of Peers to meet at York, to consult what was fit to be done in this juncture; who advised him unanimously to enter into a treaty with the Scots at Rippon, and to summon a Parliament to meet at Westminster; with both which advices the King complied, and immediately issued out Writs for a Parliament to sit down in November, 1640, and adjourned the treaty with the Scots to London.

No age ever produced greater men than those that sat in this Parliament: they had sufficient abilities and inclinations to have rendered

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rendered the King and their Country happy, if England had not been through a chain of concurring accidents ripened for destruction.

At their sitting down, a scene of *grievances*, under which the nation had long groaned, was laid open, and all topics made use of to paint them out in liveliest colors. The many cruelties and illegal practices of the *Star-chamber*, and *High Commission Court*, that had alienated people's minds from the *Hierarchy*, were now insisted on to throw down those two *Arbitrary Tribunals*, and with them in some time after, the Bishops out of the House of Peers, and at length Episcopacy itself out of the Church. It was not a few of either House, but indeed all the Great Patriots, that concurred at first to make enquiry into the Grievances of this reign. Sir Edward Hide, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, and Lord Chancellor of England; the Lord Digby; the Lord Falkland; the Lord Capell; Mr. Grimstone, who was chosen afterwards Speaker of the House of Commons that brought in King Charles the Second, and was Master of the Rolls; Mr. Holles, since Lord Holles; all which suffered afterwards on the King's side; and in general, most of those that took the King's part in the succeeding war, were the men that appeared with the greatest zeal for the redress of grievances, and made the sharpest speeches upon

The Parliament. 1641.

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upon those subjects. The intentions of those gentlemen were certainly noble and just, and tended to the equal advantage of King and People: but the fate of England urged on its own ruin step by step, till an open rupture between the King and Parliament made the gap too wide ever to be made up again.

Sir Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, and Dr. Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, had too great a share in the Ministry, to escape being censured; and they were the first that felt the effects of a popular hatred. These two gentlemen, and James Duke of Hamilton, first advised King Charles to call this Parliament; and all three fell by it, though not at the same time.

The Fall and Character of the Earl of Strafford.

The Earl of Strafford was a gentleman of extraordinary parts, a great Orator, and yet a greater Statesman: he made a considerable figure in the first three Parliaments of King Charles; and no man appeared with greater zeal against *ship-money*, *tonnage*, and *poundage*, and other Taxes illegally imposed upon the subject. The Court bought him off, and preferred him to great Honors and Places, which lost him his former friends, and made the breach irreconcilable. There had been a long and intimate friendship betwixt Mr. Pym and him, and they had gone hand in hand in every thing in the House of Commons.

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mons. But when Sir Thomas Wentworth was upon making his peace with the Court, he sent to Pym to meet him alone at Greenwich; where he began in a set speech to sound Mr. Pym about the dangers they were like to run by the courses they were in; and what advantages they might have, if they would but listen to some offers which would probably be made them from the Court. Pym understanding his drift, stopt him short with this expression; "You need not use all this art to tell me "that you have a mind to leave us: but "remember what I tell you, You are going "to be undone. But remember, that "though you leave us now, I will never "leave you while your head is upon your "shoulders." He was as good as his word, for it was Pym that first accused him of High Treason in the House of Commons, he carried up his impeachment to the House of Lords, and was the chief manager of his Trial, and Bill of Attainder.

There never was a more solemn Trial than that of the Earl of Strafford, whether we consider the Accusers, or the Person accused; the Accusation, or the Defence. As in every thing else, so in this more particularly, he expressed a wonderful presence of mind, and a vast compass of thought, with such nervous and moving flights of eloquence, as came nothing short of the most celebrated pieces of antiquity. This did

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did manifestly appear from his summing up the long answer he made *extempore* to every one of the articles against him, with this pathetic conclusion: "My Lords," said he "I have troubled you longer than "I should have done, were it not for the "interest of these dear pledges a Saint in "Heaven hath left me." At this word he stopped, pointing to his children that stood by him, and dropt some tears; then went on, "What I forfeit for myself is nothing; "but that my indiscretion should extend "to my posterity, woundeth me to the very "soul. You will pardon my infirmity; "something I should have added, but am "not able; therefore let it pass. And "now, my Lords, for myself, I have been "by the blessing of God taught, 'That "the afflictions of this present life are not "to be compared to that eternal weight of "glory which shall be revealed hereafter.' "And so, my Lords, even so, with all "tranquillity of mind, I freely submit my-"self to your judgment: and whether that "judgment be of Life or Death, *te Deum* "*laudamus.*"

It is believed that King Charles's appearing so heartily for him, did him no good with the House of Commons: and it is confidently said, that he wrote his Majesty a Letter from the Tower, praying him not to intercede in his affair; and "that his not seeming to be concerned in "it

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"it, would be the best method to calm the "rage of his enemies." But notwithstanding this caution the King came to the House of Lords, and sending for the House of Commons, made a warm speech in favor of the Earl; which some of his friends took for so good news, that they went straight from Westminster to give him an account of it: Strafford received it as his doom, and told them, "the King's "kindness had ruined him; and that he "had little else now to do, but to prepare "himself for death."

As King Charles was mistaken in his intercession for the Earl of Strafford, so was the Earl himself much more, in neglecting the advice of his friends against his coming up to this Parliament. It was easy to foresee there was something designed to his prejudice; and he had fair warning given him not to come up at that time; at least, till he saw how matters would go. He had two plausible pretences for his absence, if he had pleased to make use of them; the necessity of his presence in Ireland, where he was Lord Lieutenant; or in the North of England, where he was Lieutenant-General of the Army that had been raised against the Scots But being too confident, not only of the King's favour and his interest among the Lords, but of the good effects an *Humble Honey Speech* might have with the House of Commons

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(to use his own words), he came late at night to town, and took his place next morning in the House of Lords, with an intention to ask leave that very day to go down to the House of Commons to clear himself of the misrepresentations he lay under.

Mr. Pym hearing he was come, moved to have the doors locked, and the keys laid upon the table, lest any member should give intelligence of what they were upon: which being done, he accused the Earl of Strafford of *High Treason;* and an Impeachment was immediately drawn up, and agreed to by the House. In the mean time, it fell out unluckily for the Earl of Strafford, that at his coming into the House of Lords, they were upon a debate that took them up a considerable time; and while he was waiting till that was over, the Commons came up with their Impeachment.

As the Earl was strangely unfortunate in most things that befel him in the latter period of his life, he was no less in the very opinion of the King himself, and those others that did all they could to save his life. For the King, in the speech he made to both Houses in his favour, was pleased to say, "That he did not think my "Lord Strafford fit hereafter to serve him "or the Commonwealth in any place of "trust, no, not so much as that of a con-"stable."

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"stable." And the Lord Digby, in the speech he made in the House of Commons against the Bill of Attainder, for which among other things he was forced to fly, treats the Earl in yet much harsher terms: "The "name of the Earl of Strafford (says he) is "a name of hatred in the present age by "his practices, and fit to be made a terror "to future ages by his punishment. I am "still the same in my opinions and affec- "tions as to the Earl of Strafford (conti- "nues he after); I believe him to be the "most dangerous Minister, the most in- "supportable to free subjects that can be "charactered. I believe his practices in "themselves as high, as tyrannical, as any "subject ventured upon; and the malig- "nity of them highly aggravated by those "rare qualities of his, whereof God has "given him the use, but the Devil the "application. In a word (adds the Lord "Digby), I believe him still that Grand "Apostate to the Commonwealth, who "must not expect to be pardoned in this "world, till he be despatched into the other. "And yet, let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, "my hand must not be at that despatch." Thus far a nobleman that was entirely in the King's interest; and for his zeal to the royal cause became the most obnoxious to the Parliament.

After all, there seems to have been some mistake about the main article in his ac-

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cusation, of "his advising the King to "bring over the Army from Ireland to "reduce England;" which contributed more to the undoing of this Minister than all the rest: for the proof of this article being only words contained in Mr. Secretary Vane's Notes (which are placed in the *Appendix*), and said to be spoke at the Council Table, they do naturally refer to the Kingdom of Scotland, and not to England; the thing then under debate, being how to reduce *Scotland*. And though Secretary Vane swore to the truth of his Notes, yet it was after such a manner as left the matter still more dubious: And though he had sworn more positively, it was but the testimony of one witness, and that contradicted by Four Lords, who were then present in Council, and who declared upon their honors, "That they did not "remember they heard the Earl of Straf- "ford speak those words."

Appendix, Numb. VI.

I cannot leave the Earl of Strafford, without taking notice of a silly mistake that has gained some credit in the world, as if the Bill of Attainder against him was of so extraordinary a nature, and so much out of all the known methods of justice, that the legislators themselves were obliged to insert a clause into the body of it, "That it should never be drawn into "president." Whereas that clause does expressly relate only to Judges in Inferior Courts;

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Courts, and is conceived in the following words:—"Provided, that no judge or "judges, justice or justices whatsoever, "shall adjudge or interpret any act or thing "to be treason, nor hear or determine any "treason, in any other manner than he or "they should or ought to have done, be-"fore the making of this Act"

As Archbishop Laud was nothing inferior to the Earl of Strafford in parts, and much his superior in Learning; so it is hard to determine which of the two made a nobler defence at their trial. The fate of the former has been the same with that of most great men, to be represented to posterity in *extremes;* for we have nothing written of him but what is either Panegyrick or Satyr, rather than History.

That Archbishop Laud was brought to his Trial, and found Guilty, during the heat of a Civil War, and when all things were tending to confusion, was nothing strange: nor was Serjeant Wild's introduction at the opening of his Charge, anything but what might have been expected at such a time, when he told the Lords, "that it might be said of the Great Cause "of the Archbishop of Canterbury, as it "was in a like case, *repertum est hodierno* "*die facinus, quod nec Poeta fingere, nec* "*histrio sonare, nec mimus imitari potuerit.*" But it was indeed strange, and none of the least of this great man's misfortunes,

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that three years before, he should be declared by the House of Commons a traitor, *nemine contradicente*, at a time when there was not the least misunderstanding betwixt the King and Parliament, being within the first month after they sat down: and which was yet stranger, that nobody was more severe upon him, than some of those that afterwards took the King's part against the Parliament, and were at last the chief instruments of his Son's Restoration. Whoever reads Sir Harbottle Grimstone's speech upon voting his impeachment, or Pym's upon carrying it up to the Lords, will be apt to think, "That "scarce any age has produced a man whose "actions and conduct have been more "obnoxious to obloquy, or given greater "occasion for it."

There was one thread that run through his whole Accusation, and upon which most of the Articles of his Impeachment turned; and that was, *his inclination to popery, and his design to introduce the Romish religion*: of which his Immortal Book against *Fisher*, and his Declaration at his Death, do sufficiently acquit him. And yet, not Protestants only, but even Roman Catholics themselves were led into this mistake; otherwise they would not have dared to offer one in his Post a *Cardinal's Cap*, as he confesses in his Diary they did twice. The introduction of a great many

Pompous

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Pompous Ceremonies into the Church, the Licensing some Books that spoke favourably of the Church of Rome, and the refusing to License others that were written against it, were the principal causes of his being thus misrepresented: and indeed his behaviour in some of these matters, as likewise in the Star-Chamber and High-Commission-Court, can hardly be accounted for; and particularly his *Theatrical* manner of Consecrating a New Church in London; related at length in the *Appendix*. Appendix, Numb. VII.

He was certainly, in spite of malice, a man of an elevated capacity, and vast designs; a great encourager of learning and learned men; and spared no pains nor cost to enrich England with such a Noble Collection of Books and Manuscripts in most languages, as looked rather like the bounty of a King, than of a Subject. As he left behind him many lasting monuments of his beneficence to the learned world, so was he in a way to have carried it much further, if his misfortunes had not intervened, and deprived Learning of so powerful a benefactor.

But after all; as there is seldom found a mind so great but has some allay, so it seems Archbishop Laud, notwithstanding his excellent endowments, was not proof against either the Impression of *Dreams*, or Revenge of Personal Affronts, though never so trivial in themselves, nor the person

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never so mean: of the one, witness his taking so particular notice in his Diary of several of his Dreams; and of the other, his carrying his resentments so far against Archie the King's Fool, for a mere *Jest*, that he had him turned out of court by an Order of Council: which being so unaccountable a piece of weakness in so great a man, and done at a full Board, the King and the Archbishop present; the order is placed in the *Appendix*, for a remarkable instance "how far the greatest of men "may at some times be left without a "guard against passion."

Appendix, No. VIII.

To return to King Charles, he did every thing that was possible to give satisfaction to the Parliament, or could be reasonably expected from a Gracious and Beneficent Prince. He passed the Bill for Attainting the Earl of Strafford, though with reluctancy, as believing he deserved not such hard measure: he took away monopolies, that had been a great discouragement to trade: he expressed himself to their contentments in the matters of Loan, Ship-money, Tonnage and Poundage, and other unwarrantable methods that had been used in raising money; and showed a settled resolution to comply with them in every thing that might tend to the ease and security of the subject. As in the preceding Parliament he had past the Petition of Right, so in the beginning of this he

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he had agreed to the Acts for Triennial Parliaments, and for abolishing the Star-Chamber and High-Commission Courts, which had been great Grievances; and with cheerfulness passed that Act which seemed inconsistent with his own just prerogative, "That Parliament should not "be dissolved but by Act of Parliament; "nor prorogued or adjourned, but by their "own Consent."

The King having upon these concessions received the Public Thanks of Both Houses, and the loud applauses of his People, took a journey for Scotland in August, 1641, to settle matters there, that required his presence; leaving the Parliament sitting, which they continued to do for some time, and then adjourned themselves to October following. At the King's going away, affairs had been already settled betwixt the two kingdoms by an *Act of Pacification*, and both armies ordered to be disbanded, the Scots returning home for that purpose.

The Irish Rebellion.

While the King was in Scotland, the *Irish Rebellion* broke out, which became a new bone of contention between the King and the Parliaments of both nations. He took what measures were possible in Scotland about suppressing that rebellion, and made what haste he could back to England to concert with the Parliament there, what was further to be done towards it; leaving the

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the Scots, as he said himself, *a contented People*, and every thing settled to their mind both in church and state.

He returned to London the latter end of November, and was received with all demonstrations of affection. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the Nobility, Gentry, and Trained-Bands met him without the City, and conducted him in great state, with the acclamations of the people (the City Companies in their formalities lining the streets on each side) to Guildhall, where he was royally feasted, and after dinner conducted with the same pomp to Whitehall.

What man that had seen a Prince thus received into his Capital City, could have imagined, that within less than seven weeks he should be obliged to leave it upon the account of tumults, never to see it again, but as a prisoner brought thither to die upon a scaffold? Yet this was King Charles's hard fortune: and it is here I would willingly draw a veil over the remaining part of his Reign, that ended in one of the most dismal tragedies that ever was acted upon the English stage. His virtues and morals deserved a better fate, and he suffered for the faults of others, rather than errors of his own.

The House of Commons had begun some few days before his return, to fall into new heats about *Innovations in Religion;*

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gion; the Rebellion in Ireland; *Plots said to be laid in* Scotland; *the disabling the Clergy to exercise Temporal Jurisdiction; and excluding the Bishops from Votes in Parliament:* all which matters, together with reports that were buzzed about of some designs against the Parliament, led the House into that remarkable *Petition and Remonstrance of the State of the Nation*; in which they ripped up again all the mismanagements in the government since the King's coming to the crown; and attributed all to "evil counsels and coun- "sellors, and a malignant party about the "King." This remonstrance was roughly penned, both for matter and expression, and met with great opposition in the House; the debate lasting from three o'clock in the afternoon till ten o'clock next morning; and was presented to his Majesty the eighth day after his return from Scotland.

The Petition and Remonstrance of the H. of Commons to King Charles.

It was no wonder King Charles was surprised at this Petition and Remonstrance, considering how much he had done to comply with his Parliament in all they desired. And since from these two Papers, and from the King's Answer to them at their delivery, and from the *Declaration* he published more at large afterwards to the same purpose, the reader will be better enabled to make a judgment of the

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the causes and arguments on both sides for the Civil War that ensued, I have placed all the four in the *Appendix:* the length of them may be more easily pardoned, since upon the matters contained in them, the whole almost of all the differences that came to be decided by the sword, happened to turn.

Appendix, Numb. IX.

King Charles's coming to the H. of Commons to demand the Five Members.

Things were now going fast on towards lessening the confidence betwixt the King and Parliament: and yet there were not wanting endeavours on both sides to accommodate matters by soft and healing methods, when the King's coming to the House of Commons in person to demand Five of their Members, whom he had ordered the day before to be impeached of high treason, did put all into a combustion, and gave occasion to the House to assert their privileges with a greater warmth than ever. This was the most unlucky step King Charles could have made at that juncture: and the indiscretion of some that attended the King to the Lobby of the House, was insisted upon as an argument that the King was *resolved to use violence upon the Parliament*, which it is to be presumed was a thing far from his thoughts. The Five Members had hardly time to make their escape just when the King was entering; and upon his going away, the House adjourned in a flame for some

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some days, ordering a committee to sit in Guildhall in the mean time, as if they were not safe at Westminster.

Whoever they were that advised the King to this rash attempt, are justly chargeable with all the blood that was afterwards spilt; for this sudden action was the first and visible ground of all our following miseries. It was believed, that if the King had found the Five Members in the House, and had called in his guards to seize them, the House would have endeavoured their defence, and opposed force to force; which might have endangered the King's person. But the consequences were bad enough without this; for immediately upon it there was nothing but confusion and tumults, fears and jealousies every where, which spread themselves to Whitehall in the rudest manner; so that his Majesty thinking himself not safe there, he retired with his family to Hampton-Court.

The King leaving the Parliament in this manner, there were scarce any hopes of a thorough reconciliation. But when after a great many removes from place to place, his Majesty came to set up his Standard at Nottingham, there ensued a fatal and bloody war; which it is reasonable to believe was never designed at first by either side. The Beginning of the Civil Wars.

Each party blamed the other for beginning

ing this war; and it is not easy to determine which of them began it. Though the King made the first steps that seemed to tend that way; such as raising a Troop for a Guard to his Person; summoning the Gentlemen and Freeholders of several Counties to attend him in his progress to the North, and ordering Arms and Ammunition to be bought in Holland for his use: yet the Parliament did as much at the same time; for they likewise raised guards of their own, and took care that the magazine of Hull should not fall into the King's hands. So that the King and Parliament prepared themselves insensibly for war, without considering that these preparations must gradually and inevitably come to blows in the end. The King's setting up his Standard at Nottingham was not the first public notice of this war, as has been commonly reported by historians that should have known better; for that was not done till August 22, 1642, and yet the House of Commons past these two votes the 12th of July before; "1. That an Army "should be forthwith raised for the safety "of the King's Person, Defence of both "Houses of Parliament, and of those who "have obeyed their Orders and Com-"mands; and preserving of the true reli-"gion, laws, liberty, and peace of the "kingdom." And "2. That the Earl of "Essex should be General, and the Earl "of

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"of Bedford General of the Horse." To which votes the House of Lords agreed.

Whoever begun the War, it was carried on in the beginning with equal success, and it was hard to determine which side had the better: till in the sequel, the loss of Essex's Army in the west, and other disadvantages, brought the Parliament's affairs to a low ebb, and seemed to promise the King an entire mastery. To retrieve their sinking fortune, the Parliament was obliged to call in the Scots to their assistance; which so far turned the scale, that the King lost ground every day after: and the defeat of his Army at the battles of *Marston-Moor* and *Naseby* put him out of capacity to keep the field, and broke entirely all his measures.

During the whole course of this unnatural War, it was hard to divine what would be the fate of England; whether an Absolute Unlimited Monarchy; a new huddled-up Commonwealth; or a downright Anarchy. If the King should prevail, the first was to be feared, considering that the many indignities put upon him might embitter him against the Parliament: if the Parliament should prevail, the second was to be apprehended: and if the Army should set up for themselves, as afterwards they did, the last was inevitably to follow. All which some of the best men about

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about the King wisely foresaw, and trembled at the event of every battle that was fought, whoever happened to be victors. It was the dread of these misfortunes that hindered the Lords and Commons whom the King called to Oxford, to assume to themselves the name of *The Parliament of England*, and from declaring those met at Westminster, *Rebels;* though the King again and again importuned them to it, and took their refusal so ill, that in one of his letters to the Queen, intercepted at Naseby, he reflects heavily upon them for it, and calls them in derision *his Mungrel Parliament*. It was likewise the dismal prospect he had of this War, even in the beginning of it, that moved that accomplished gentleman the Lord Falkland to throw away his life, rather than be a witness of the miseries which were coming upon the nation. For though he was secretary of state to the King, and followed his fortune, yet seeing all his endeavours for promoting a peace were in vain, he went on with a party to skirmish with the enemy, the day before the first battle of Newbury; and being dissuaded by his friends, as having no call to it, being no military person, he said, "He was weary of the times, and "foresaw much misery to his country, and "hoped he should be out of it ere night." So pushing into the battle, he was slain.

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Many endeavours were used from time to time to bring matters to an accommodation by way of Treaty; but still some one unlucky accident or other rendered them all abortive. At the Treaty of Uxbridge, though the Parliament's demands were high, and the King showed a more than ordinary aversion to comply with them, yet the ill posture of the King's affairs at that time, and the fatal consequences they feared would follow upon breaking off of the treaty, obliged a great many of the King's friends, and more particularly that noble person the Earl of Southampton, who had gone post from Uxbridge to Oxford for that purpose, to press the King again and again upon their knees, to yield to the necessity of the times; and by giving his Assent to some of the most material Propositions that were sent to him, to settle a lasting Peace with his People. The King was at last prevailed with to follow their counsel; and the next morning was appointed for signing a Warrant to his commissioners to that effect. And so sure were they of a happy end of all differences, that the King at supper complaining his wine was not good, one told him merrily, "He hoped that his Majesty would drink "better before a week was over, at Guild-"hall with the Lord Mayor." But so it was, that when they came early next morning to wait upon him with the Warrant

Endeavours that were used for an accommodation.

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that had been agreed upon over night, they found his Majesty had changed his resolution, and was become inflexible in these points.

The unhappy occasion of this alteration has lain hitherto a secret in history, and might have continued such still, if a letter from the Marquis of Montross in Scotland, whereof I have seen a copy under the Duke of Richmond's hand, did not give a sufficient light into it. To make the matter better understood, it is necessary to say something of Montross and his actions in Scotland.

Montross's fatal letter.

This nobleman had been at first very active and zealous for the liberties of his country; and was the first man that passed the river Tweed at the head of five hundred horse, upon the Scot's First Expedition into England. But being afterwards disobliged, or, as some say, repenting of his former error, he left that side, and came in to the King at the breaking out of the war between him and the Parliament. When the Scots came into England the second time to assist the Parliament, Montross applied himself to the King for a commission to levy war against his rebel subjects, as they were called, of Scotland; assuring his Majesty he was able, with the assistance of his friends, and concurrence of the rest of the Royal Party, to make at least a very considerable diversion, if not to

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to reduce the whole country to his Majesty's obedience. Accordingly the Marquiss was made Governor of Scotland; where in the space of five months, with a handful of raw undisciplined men, and those not half armed, he did overrun a great part of the country, and gain three very considerable Battles; the last of which was that of Inverlochy, fought the 2d of February, 1644, according to the English, and 1645, according to the Scotch account. In this battle the Earl of Argyle was entirely defeated, and the prime of the noble family of the Campbell's cut off, with inconsiderable loss on Montross's side; who next day despatched an express to the King, with the news of this and his two former victories: and in his letter expressed his "utter "aversion to all treaties with his Rebel "Parliament in England," as he calls them: tells the King, "he is heartily sorry to "hear that his Majesty had consented to "treat; and hopes it is not true:" advises him "not to enter into terms with his re- "bellious subjects, as being a thing unwor- "thy of a King:" and assures him, that he himself was now so much master of Scotland, "that he doubted not but to be "able within a few months to march into "England to his Majesty's assistance, with "a brave army." And concludes with this odd expression, "When I have con- "quered from Dan to Beersheba, as I doubt

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" not I shall very quickly, I hope I may " have then leave to say, as David's gene- " ral said to his master, Come thou, lest " this country be called by my name."

This letter, written with such an air of assurance, and by a person that was thought capable to make good his promises, and the matter contained in it suiting but too well with the King's inclinations, was unluckily delivered to the King but a few hours before he was to have signed the Warrant before mentioned; and had as ill effects as the worst of King Charles's enemies could have wished; for it dashed out in a moment all the impressions his best friends had been making upon him for a considerable time, towards a full Settlement with his people.

It looked as if there was some secret fatality in this whole matter; for it could hardly have been imagined that a letter written the 3d of February, in the furthermost north corner of Britain, should come so soon to Oxford, considering the length of the journey, the badness of the roads at that time of the year, especially through the mountainous parts of Scotland, together with the Parliament's and Scotch armies and garrisons that were posted all along the road; and yet certain it is, it came through all these dangers and inconveniencies in very few days; for it is indorsed upon the copy I have seen, " That " it

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"it was delivered to the King during the "Treaty of Uxbridge;" which every body knows began the 30th of January, and ended the 22d of February: and further, it must have been delivered before the 19th of February, because King Charles takes notice of it in a letter to the Queen, of that date, found among others at Naseby; where he says, "Though I leave news to "others, yet I cannot but tell thee, That "even now I have received certain intelli- "gence of a great defeat given by Mon- "tross to Argyle, who upon surprise to- "tally routed those rebels, and killed fifteen "hundred upon the place." And it is remarkable, that in the same letter to the Queen, immediately after the mentioning Montross's victory, the King adds, "That "as for trusting the Rebels, either by go- "ing to London, or disbanding my Army "before a Peace, do no ways fear my ha- "zarding so cheaply or foolishly; for I "esteem the interest thou hast in me at a "far dearer rate; and pretend to have a "little more wit (at least, by the sympathy "that is betwixt us) than to put myself "into the Reverence of Perfidious Rebels." Which words being compared with Montross's letter, it will be found the one is a commentary upon the other.

I have placed Montross's letter itself in the Appendix; and cannot leave it, with- Appendix, Numb. X.

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out making this observation, "That con-
"sidering the time it was written, the cri-
"tical minute it was delivered, with the
"sad consequences that attended it," it makes this axiom true, "That oftentimes
"the Fate of Princes and States is chiefly
"owing to very minute and unforeseen
"Accidents."

The Treaty of Uxbridge being thus broke off, the War was renewed with greater fury than ever; till at last the Parliament's Army having beaten the King out of the field, came to kick their Masters out of the House; and having modelled the Parliament and Army to their own minds, did set up for themselves, and at one blow completed the ruin of their country in the murder of King Charles I. and the extirpation of Monarchy. In short, a continued series of misfortunes attended the Royal Cause; and several favorable accidents that seemed from time to time to promise better events, did concur in the end to the King's undoing: till at last, that unhappy Prince, in being brought before a tribunal of his own subjects, and submitting his neck to the stroke of a common Executioner, taught the world an astonishing example of the instability of human greatness; and in that and the rest of his sufferings, a lasting pattern of Christian magnanimity and patience.

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The Character of King Charles I. may be taken in a great part from what has been already said; and I shall only add a few things more. He was a Prince of a comely presence, of a sweet grave but melancholy Aspect. His face was regular, handsome, and well complexioned; his body strong, healthy, and well made; and though of a low stature, was capable to endure the greatest fatigues. His face, contrary to that of his Son's, Charles II. was easily taken, either in Painting or Sculpture; and scarce any one, though never so indifferently skilled in their art, failed to hit it. He had something in the lines and features which Physiognomists account unfortunate; and it is commonly reported, that his Picture being sent to Rome to have a Busto done by it, a famous Statuary, not knowing whose it was, told the gentleman that brought it, "He was "sorry if it was the face of any relation of "his; for it was one of the most unfortu- "nate he ever saw; and according to all "the rules of art, the person whose it was "must die a violent death." In his temper he was Brave, Magnificent, Liberal, and Constant; but more affable to strangers than his own subjects. It was his noble and generous behaviour that took so much with the King of Spain, when he went thither to court the Infanta, that he rejected the repeated solicitations of his Council to

The Character of King Charles I.

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seize him; and paid him more respect than could have been well expected if he had been King of England at that time. Of his composure of mind in time of greatest danger, he gave a noble instance in his behaviour in that great Storm in the road of St. Andrees, which was worthy the ancient philosophers: nor did he fall short of the bravest in Personal Courage; having exposed his person in every battle he was in, and oftentimes charging at the head of his squadrons.

He had a good taste of Learning, and a more than ordinary skill in the Liberal Arts, especially Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Medals; and being a generous benefactor to the most celebrated masters in those arts, he acquired the noblest collection of any Prince in his time, and more than all the King's of England had done before him. It is said, notwithstanding his natural generosity, that he bestowed favors with a worse grace than his son King Charles the Second denied them; and many times obliterated the sense of the obligation by the manner of it: but indeed he had seldom much to give, being kept short of money a great part of his Reign. The essentials of Divinity he was as much master of as ever his father had been, but without the allay of pedantry; of this, among other things, the papers that past betwixt him and Mr. Hen-

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Henderson at Newcastle will be a lasting monument. He was a great patron of the Clergy; but his employing them in the highest offices of trust in State-matters created envy against them, and lessened the love of the Nobility towards him. Yet such was the honesty and integrity of one of them in the greatest and most obnoxious post in the kingdom, and when some years after he had resigned the Treasurer's Staff, and when the Parliament wanted not will to crush him, they could not find, upon the narrowest scrutiny, any one thing to object either against his accounts, or his behaviour in that place.

Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London.

King Charles was a passionate lover of his Queen, who was a beautiful Lady, and in all things very well accomplished; insomuch that his friends regretted the ascendant she had over him on some occasions, while others taxed him with the character of an uxorious husband. He was fond of his children, and kind to his servants; though these last felt sometimes the hasty sallies of his passion. He was not mistaken of himself, when he said before the High Court of Justice, "That "he understood as much law as any private "Gentleman in England:" and pity it was that any of his Ministers should have advised him to make breaches in what he so well understood.

He spoke several languages very well, and

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and with a singular good grace; though now and then, when he was warm in discourse, he was inclinable to stammer. He wrote a tolerable hand for a King, but his sense was strong, and his stile laconic; and yet he seldom wrote in any language but English. Some of his Manifestos, Declarations, and other Public Papers, he drew himself, and most of them he corrected. In comparing those of the King's with the Parliament's, one would be easily inclined to prefer, for the most part, the King's, for the strength of reasoning and the force of expression. I have seen several pieces of his own hand, and therefore may the better affirm, that both for matter and form they surpass those of his ablest Ministers, and come nothing short of Strafford or Falkland, the two most celebrated pens of that time.

As to his religion, he was Protestant, and in the strictest sense, of the Church of England, and for the Divine Right of Episcopacy. But his consenting personally to the total abolition of that Order in Scotland, does not well agree with this part of his character; especially considering his repeated Protestations at the Treaties of Uxbridge and Newport, That he could not supersede it, but for a time in England. What his opinion was, about "subjects defending their Religion and "Liberties by Force of Arms," appeared in

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in the business of Rochell. For though some would have had us believe of late, That Defensive Arms were inconsistent with the Principles of the Church of England, it is hoped they will not deny but King Charles I. understood the Doctrine and Principles of that Church as well as any other person can pretend to do; and yet it is certain, that in his Practice and Declarations he allowed of the People of Rochell's "vindicating their Religion and "Liberties from the Encroachment made "by their Sovereign, and that by force of "arms;" and assisted them in so doing.

His assisting the Rochellers.

King Charles did not only assist the Rochellers after the war was actually begun, but we have reason to believe that he encouraged them to it at first, if we look into the Duke of Rhoan's Memoirs and Apology; where that great man acquaints the world in what manner he was brought into that war, in these words, as near as I can translate them from the original: "When all our Privileges (says he) were "violated, and our Religion brought to "Ruin, and the City of Rochell in the "greatest danger, I could see no possibi-"lity to escape, but was upon the sad "thoughts of submitting ourselves to the "mercy of the King (meaning Lewis the "XIIIth). Being in this desperate state, "there came a gentleman to me from the "King of England; who told me from his "master,

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"master, That he seeing our privileges "were violated, and our Religion in dan- "ger of being subverted, had taken com- "passion on our sufferings, and thought "himself obliged in Honor and Consci- "ence to assist and protect us; which he "was resolved to do, by employing all his "Kingdoms, and his own Person, in so just "a War; provided we would join our "arms with his, and not enter into any "treaty with the King (meaning the French "King) without him; and for that effect "he would make War against the French "King both by Sea and Land. Intreat- "ing me (continues the Duke of Rhoan) "not to abandon my Party in so just and "honorable a war." And a little after in the same Apology, he has these words; "I refer it to all the World, if I can be "justly called the author of the Third "War, considering I was solicited to it by "the King of Great Britain."

But suppose there were no credit to be given to the Duke of Rhoan, whose honor and veracity even his very enemies never called in question; and suppose it were false, which all the world knows to be true, that King Charles did actually assist the Rochellers again and again against their Prince; yet we have authentic accounts of several speeches made by the Duke of Buckingham's Secretary to the Rochellers, and of several Messages sent to

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to them from the Duke, in name of the King his Master, all to the same purpose: and likewise a Manifesto published by him, and signed with his own hand, dated July 21, 1627, on board the Admiral's ship; in which he has this expression: "No "private interest (says he) has obliged my "Master to make War against the French "King, but merely the Defence of the "Protestant Church: my master's design "is the Re-establishment of the Church; "their Good is his Interest, and their Con-"tentment his End."

Histoire de la Siege de Rochell, par Mr. Mervault.

We have also authentic copies of the *League* betwixt King Charles and the People of Rochell; in which there is this expression, "That the Rochellers may be "delivered from the Oppressions they "groan under." And to sum up all, there were two Letters written by King Charles with his own hand to the Rochellers, which are mentioned by Monsieur Mervault, a Syndic of that town, and who was active in the whole matter, and present during the whole siege, of which the copies follow.

To the Mayor, Sheriffs, Peers, and Burgesses of the City of Rochell.

"Gentlemen,

"Be not discouraged, though my Fleet "be returned. Hold out to the last; for

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"I am resolved that my whole Fleet shall "perish, rather than you be not relieved. "For this effect I have ordered it to re- "turn back to your Coasts, and am send- "ing several ships to reinforce it. With "the help of God the success shall be "happy for you.

"Your Good Friend,
"CHARLES R."

At Westminster, May 19, O. S. 1628.

The other Letter, directed as before, runs thus;

"Gentlemen,

"I have been very much troubled to "hear that my Fleet was upon the point of "returning home, without obeying my "Orders in supplying you with provisions "cost what it will. I have commanded "them to return to your Road, and not to "come away until you are supplied, or at "least till they are reinforced, which I "have ordered to be done with all dili- "gence. Assure yourselves that I shall "never abandon you; and that I shall em- "ploy the whole Power of my Kingdom "for your deliverance, until God assist me "to obtain for you an assured Peace."

"Your Good Friend,
CHARLES R."

Given at our Palace of Westminster, May 27, O. S. 1628.

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I have dwelt the longer upon this subject, because it is easy to draw a parallel betwixt the case of King Charles's assisting subjects against their King in the defence of their Religion and Liberties, and that of another Prince's doing the same upon a late occasion. But as the former had no other right to interpose in the one, but the common interest of Religion; so the other had over and above that, the Right of a Prince of the Blood, and the Interest of the Presumptive Heir of the Crown; all which altered the case greatly to the advantage of the latter. King Charles was as unfortunate in this War with France, as he was in all others he engaged in. The poor City of Rochell, after a long and cruel siege, amidst the horrors of famine and death, was at last forced to submit to the will of the conqueror; and the loss of that bulwark of the French Liberty, was in some time followed by the total ruin of the Protestant Interest in France. The English Fleet lay within view of the town when it was taken; and which added to the misfortune, that mighty Dyke, that had been raised at inestimable charges to block up the harbour, fell down the very next day after the surrender, and opened a passage for the Fleet that came to relieve it, when it was now too late.

During this War, he lost his favourite, *George*

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The character of the D. of Buckingham.

George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. This gentleman was one of the greatest prodigies of fortune that any age has produced; and gave us a signal instance how far it is possible for the same person to be the Favourite of two successive monarchs. He possessed King James's favour without a rival, and without any other interruption but that cloud which the intrigues of Spain raised against him in the King's mind, which has been already hinted at; wherein the son shared equally with the favourite, and which Bishop Williams's dexterity soon dissipated. King Charles out-did his father in his kindness to Buckingham, and had no Favourite after him. He had all the qualities that are requisite for a court, and fit to acquire and preserve his Master's affection. Notwithstanding he was in his temper highly generous and beneficent, and that there were few great families in England but he had some way or other obliged, either in themselves or their relations, yet he fell under the misfortune that attends favorites; but it must be owned he was rather envied than hated. He had the ill luck to be charged with a great many things of which he was innocent, and particularly in relation to the Spanish Match. By all that I have seen, he deserved the thanks of the nation upon that account, rather than an Impeachment in Parliament: for it was he chiefly that

Vid. Hacket's Life of Bp. Williams.

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that broke off that Match, when he saw how much King James suffered in his Honor, through the manner he was treated in it, which he found out sooner than the King did himself. It is none of the least proofs of the Duke of Buckingham's innocence in these matters, that Spanhemius in his History of the Electrice Palatine, (written long after Buckingham's death) speaks always honourably of him in the business of the Palatinate; whereas at the same time he exposes King James's conduct.

It is a vulgar mistake, that he came to be the First Minister, merely through the Caprice of King James; for the Court unanimously promoted his interest, and recommended him to the highest favour, in opposition to Somerset, whose arrogance, covetousness, and pride, had disobliged every body, and made both the King and the Court weary of him. No servant did his master more honor in the Magnificence of his Train, and the splendid manner of his living; especially in his Embassy to France; where in the gracefulness of his person, and nobleness of his behaviour and equipage, he out-did any thing that ever was seen of that kind before. He was more formed for a Court than a Camp; and though very brave in his person, he was unsuccessful in the only Military Expedition he was engaged in,

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which was that of Rochell: and when he was upon the embarking a second time to repair that disgrace, he was basely murdered amidst a crowd of his friends, and in the height of his glory.

To return to King Charles's character. If he had any personal faults, they were much over-weighed by his virtues: but an *Immoderate Desire of Power*, beyond what the constitution did allow of, was the rock he split upon. He might have been happy, if he had trusted more to his own judgment, than that of those about him; for as in his nature he was an enemy to all violent measures, so was he apt to submit his own reason to that of others, when any such things came under consideration. There was another error that run through the whole management of his affairs, both domestic and public, and which occasioned a great part of his misfortunes: he appeared many times stiff and positive in denying at first, what he granted afterwards out of time, and too late to give satisfaction; which encouraged ambitious and interested persons to ask more than they thought of at first, and lost him the fruits of his former concessions. So that in the whole conduct of his life he verified this maxim, "That Errors in Government "have ruined more Princes than their Per-"sonal Vices."

I shall have done with this melancholy subject,

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subject, after the reader has been acquainted with one remarkable accident, not hitherto mentioned with that exactness it deserves, by any author I know of; which considering its consequences, is an extraordinary instance, "upon what small "hinges the greatest Revolutions may "turn."

The true Cause of the Scots coming first into England.

That the principal rise of all King Charles's latter troubles, was from the *Second War with the Scots*, has been already showed. But what the motives were that emboldened the Scots to alter their measures from those they had observed in the first War, continues in great part a mystery to this day. In the first War, they stood upon the defensive only, and came no further than their own borders; but in the second they acted so much on the offensive, that they marched into England as far as Durham, and were coming on further, if the Treaty that was set on foot at Rippon had not stopt them. All the accounts we have of this proceeding of the Scots, do seem to be grounded upon the informations they had of the backwardness of England to assist the King in this War; and that they were well assured of friends all over the kingdom, and some of nearest access to the King's person, who they knew would interpose in their behalf, rather than matters should come to extremities. But these general encouragements

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can hardly be thought to have had such weight with the Scots, as to make them venture upon so bold an attempt; and therefore it is but reasonable to believe they went upon surer grounds, when they made this Invasion.

This matter will be set in a clearer light, when the reader is acquainted, that a *Forged Letter* (pretended to be sent from some of the most leading men of the Nobility of England), came to have the same effects as if it had been a true one, and really signed by the same persons whose names were affixed to it. Which fell out in this manner.

After the *Pacification at Duns*, which put an end to the first War, the King at his return to London was prevailed with, upon the account of several things the Scots were said to have done contrary to the Articles of the Treaty, and the duty of subjects, to order the Pacification to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. To reduce them to obedience, he was meditating a New War, and in order thereto was levying another Army, and was pleased to call a Parliament to assist him in it. The Scots had their Commissioners at London at that time, who wanted not friends in both Houses to inform them of every thing that happened in Parliament and Council, which they failed not to write home to their country; "advising

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" advising them to be on their guard, and " to put themselves in a posture not to be " surprised."

The Scots knowing how matters went in England, and that a new storm was like to break out upon them, were resolved to put themselves into a posture of defence; and to the forces they had not yet disbanded, they added considerable new levies both of horse and foot. Their preparations went faster on than the King's, and with the more cheerfulness; for by this time he had parted on ill terms with his Parliament, and without obtaining a Supply. While the King was advancing towards the North, the Scots drew to their borders; and it was debated at several Councils of War, where a Committee of Estates assisted, whether they should expect the King upon the borders, as they had done before, or march into England, and carry the war out of their own country. But they had taken no resolution in the matter, before the King had got as far as York.

A Message of Importance from some English Gentlemen of great consequence to the Earl of Rothes.

In this nice juncture there came a gentleman to the English border, who sent a message to the Earl of Rothes, that he desired to acquaint him with a matter of the greatest importance and secrecy, if he might privately and with safety speak with him alone. Rothes thereupon sent a trusty servant with a Passport, to conduct him to his quarters; where the gentleman told

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him, That he was directed particularly to him, as a person of great honor, and whom they could safely trust, with a message from several great men of England; who were "grieved for the ruin they foresaw "must necessarily attend their Country, if "the King should make himself Absolute "Master of Scotland; seeing after that, "they were to expect the same fate, con- "sidering how little to the King's satisfac- "tion things had been carried in the Par- "liament of England, and how much he "had resented their refusing a Subsidy to "carry on this War. He told him, that "nothing was so much desired in England "as a Free Parliament, to redress their "grievances: and if the Scots would march "immediately into England, the King must "necessarily be straitened to that degree in "his Affairs, as to be obliged to call a "Parliament: and that upon their March, "the City of London, and the greatest "part of the Nobility and Gentry would "not only petition the King for a Free "Parliament, but likewise mediate be- "tween the King and them, and bring "matters to such an accommodation, as "might be for the good of both nations:" adding withal, "That if the Scots slipped "this opportunity, they were never to ex- "pect the like again." The Gentleman having delivered this message, gave the Earl a letter directed to him, and signed by

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by about Twelve Noblemen, much to the same purpose, but written more cautiously, and in more general terms; desiring him for a further explanation, to give entire credit to the bearer, whom they had fully informed of their intentions.

Rothes, with the Gentleman's leave, acquainted General Lesley, afterwards Earl of Leven, and one or two of the most leading men of the Committee of Estates, with this Message; and upon solemn promises of secresy, showed them the letter; both which agreeing so well in the main with the intelligence they had received from England, and suiting with their own inclinations, determined them in the point: and next morning, in the Council of War, "It was resolved to march into England "that afternoon;" which accordingly they did. Rothes in the mean time despatched back the messenger with an answer to the Noblemen he supposed had written to him; "thanking them for their Advice, and ac-"quainting them with the Resolution which "had been taken thereupon."

It fell out afterwards at the Treaty of Rippon, when the English and Scotch Commissioners grew familiar with one another, that the Earl of Rothes came from Newcastle to the place of treaty; and one of the English Noblemen making him a visit, they fell into discourse about the pre-

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sent juncture of affairs. The English Nobleman expressed how much he had been surprised upon the first news of the Scots entering into England; and told him, that though he hoped it would now turn to the advantage of both nations, yet it was in itself a dangerous and rash attempt, and might have been fatal to the Scots, if the King had not been pleased to enter into a Treaty for an accommodation of matters in dispute between them. Rothes was at a stand what to make of this discourse, considering this nobleman was one of those whose name was to the Letter formerly mentioned; and therefore answered, "That "he wondered his Lordship was surprised "at an action he had so much influenced: "and that if it had not been for the invi- "tation of himself and his friends, perhaps "the Scots Army might have continued "still on the other side of Tweed." The two Lords being equally in the dark as to one another's meaning, were at length, upon producing the Letter, both of them undeceived, and found it was a mere forgery; which was afterwards acknowledged by the contriver, who was the Lord Savile, created some time after Earl of Sussex.

This Letter, though forgotten now, was much talked of during the Civil Wars: and I have seen several Original Papers of those times,

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times, that mentioned it. A Noble Lord, lately dead, whose name was to the Letter, never made any scruple of telling this passage to his friends, in the manner I have related it. And I once had a copy of the Letter itself (from the Original, which was then, and I believe is still among the Papers of the Noble Family of Rothes), which I have since lost. I must confess I have dwelt longer upon this matter than consists with the brevity I intended, and that it might have been more properly mentioned in another place: yet thus it was, that a *counterfeit invitation* brought the Scots into England, in the year 1640. And considering the consequences, it may be said, "That Provi- "dence many times seems to play with "human affairs, and influences the fate of "kingdoms by counsels and measures the "most improbable to succeed, if he had "not designed them to be subservient to "his great ends."

The Lord Wharton.

There is an historian for whom I have the highest veneration, who in his "Me- "moirs of the Dukes of Hamilton," mentions a passage not unlike to this, and perhaps it may be the very same, though his relation and mine differ in the time, and some other circumstances. And seeing I happened to look into that book some time after I had written these sheets, that I may do justice to its reverend author, whose information I am willing to believe may be better

Bishop of Salisbury's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton.

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better than my own, though I had mine from no common hands, I shall give an account of it in his own words; and the rather, for that I do not remember the date of the letter upon which the passage turns, though I do the main design and contents of it.

"But that the reader may not be wholly "in the dark," says this great historian, "about the grounds of this confidence the "Covenanters had, I shall set down what "I had from some persons of great honor, "who were fully informed about it. When "the Earls of Dumfermling and Loudon "came to London, a person of quality of "the English nation (whose name is sup-"pressed because of the infamy of this "action) came to them, and with great ve-"hemence pressed them to engage in a "new War; and among other motives "brought them Engagements in writing "from most of the greatest Peers of Eng-"land, to join with them, and assist them "when they should come into England "with their Army. This did much ani-"mate them; for they had not the least "doubt of the papers brought them. But "all this was discovered at the Treaty of "Rippon, to have been a base forgery: "for there the Scottish Lords looking very "suddenly upon some of the English Lords, "as on persons of no faith or truth, the "Lord Mandevil came to the Earl of "Rothes,

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"Rothes, and asked the reason of that "change of their countenances and beha- "vior in them; who after some high reflec- "tions, at length challenged him and the "other Lords of not keeping what they "engaged to them. Upon which that "Lord stood amazed, and told him, and so "did the other Lords there, that they had "sent no such messages nor papers to "them; and that they had been abused by "the blackest imposture that ever was. "Thus it appeared (concludes this author) "how dangerous it may be to receive some "things that seem to have the highest "probabilities in them, easily and upon "trust."

To leave this subject, it may not be improper to add another passage out of the same book; where that Reverend Prelate, speaking of the inducements that prevailed with the Scots to come in to the assistance of the Parliament three years after, tells us, "That among other arguments, that "paper which was sent down in the year "1640, as the Engagement of Twenty "Eight of the Peers of England, for their "Concurrence with the Scottish army that "year, was shown to divers, to engage "them into a grateful return to those to "whom it was pretended they were so "highly obliged. For though the Earl of "Rothes (and a few more) were well satis- "fied about the forgery of that paper, yet "they

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" they thought that a secret of too great " importance to be generally known; there- " fore it was still kept up from the body of " the nation."

King Charles's thoughts of resigning the Crown to his Son.

To shut up what relates to King Charles I. After the Treaty of Newport was broke off, and he once more carried away by the Army, he found his case was desperate, and thereupon began to have some thoughts of Resigning the Crown to the Prince of Wales, as the only means in that unhappy condition to preserve it for his family. But before he had time to digest this resolution, or an opportunity to acquaint the Parliament with it, he was hurried on to his trial. The last day of that trial he earnestly proposed, " That before sentence " passed, he might be heard before the " Lords and Commons in the Painted " Chamber, where he had something to " offer for the Peace of the Kingdom, and " the Liberty of the Subject, which might " settle all differences." It is probable he meant by this to have resigned the Crown; which his enemies having some intimation of, and fearing it might be accepted, they were the more forward to proceed to sentence and execution.

About setting up the Duke of Gloucester King.

Likewise some days before his death the prevailing party had thoughts of setting up the Duke of Gloucester, King. This was not kept so secret, but King Charles had some notice of it; for the Duke and his sister

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sister having leave to wait upon him the night before the execution, he took the young Duke in his arms, and told him, "They were going to take off his father's "head, and may be they would set the "Crown upon his head; which he forbade "him to accept of while his two elder "brothers were living."

There befel him an accident, which though a trifle in itself, and that no weight is to be laid on any thing of that nature; yet since the best authors, both Ancient and Modern, have not thought it below the majesty of History to mention the like, it may be the more excusable to insert it.

His consulting the Sortes Virgilianæ.

The King being at Oxford during the Civil Wars, went one day to see the Public Library, where he was shewn among other books a Virgil nobly printed, and exquisitely bound. The Lord Falkland, to divert the King, would have his Majesty make a trial of his fortune by the *Sortes Virgilianæ;* which every body knows was an usual kind of augury some ages past. Whereupon the King opening the book, the period which happened to come up was that part of Dido's imprecation against Æneas; which Mr. Dryden translates thus:

Yet let a race untam'd, and haughty foes, Æneid IV.
His peaceful entrance with dire arms oppose.
Oppress'd with numbers in th' unequal field,
His men discourag'd, and himself expell'd,
Let him for succour sue from place to place,
Torn from his Subjects, and his Son's embrace.

First

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First let him see his friends in battle slain,
And their untimely fate lament in vain:
And when at length the cruel War shall cease,
On hard conditions may he buy his Peace:
Nor let him then enjoy Supreme Command;
But fall untimely by some hostile hand,
And lie unburi'd on the barren sand.

It is said King Charles seemed concerned at this accident; and that the Lord Falkland observing it, would likewise try his own fortune in the same manner; hoping he might fall upon some passage that could have no relation to his case, and thereby divert the King's thoughts from any impression the other might have upon him: but the place that Falkland stumbled upon was yet more suited to his destiny than the other had been to the King's; being the following expressions of Evander upon the untimely death of his son Pallas, as they are translated by the same hand:

Æneid. XI.

O Pallas! thou has fail'd thy plighted word,
To fight with caution, not to tempt the sword:
I warn'd thee, but in vain; for well I knew,
What perils youthful ardour would pursue:
That boiling blood would carry thee too far;
Young as thou were't in dangers, raw to war!
O curst essay of arms, disast'rous doom,
Prelude of bloody fields, and fights to come!

To return to our History: upon the death of King Charles I. there was a *total eclipse* of the Royal Family for twelve years: during a great part of which time an unusual *meteor* filled the English orb, and

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and with its surprising influence overawed not only Three Kingdoms, but the powerfullest princes and states about us. A great man he was, and posterity might have paid a just homage to his memory, if he had not embrued his Hands in the Blood of his Prince, or had not usurped upon the Liberties of his country.

It being as natural a curiosity in mankind to know the character of a Fortunate Usurper, as of a Lawful King, it may not perhaps be much amiss to say something of *Oliver Cromwell.*

The Usurpation and Character of Oliver Cromwell.

By birth he was a gentleman, and bred up for some time at the University, though nothing of a scholar. When the Civil Wars broke out, he took the Parliament's side; and his first employment in the army was a Captain of Horse, whence by degrees he rose to be Lieutenant-General under the Earl of Manchester: in which post he was the chief instrument, together with Lieutenant-General Lesley, of gaining the battle of *Marston-Moor*, which proved the first remarkable stop to the King's success. Some time after, the Earl of Manchester having refused to give an Order to Cromwell, to charge a party of horse where the King was personally present, he came up to London to complain against him, though he owed his advancement chiefly to his favor. Which the Earl having notice of, and being by this time weary of a War,

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of which he foresaw the fatal consequences, he took that opportunity to lay down his command; wherein he was succeeded by Cromwell.

Sir Thomas Fairfax also laying down his commission some time after, he was declared General of all the Forces raised or to be raised by the Parliament; and having modelled the Parliament and Army to his mind, he dismissed the former, when he had no more use for them; and upon their forced resignation, he assumed the Supreme Power, under the title of *Protector*.

Being thus mounted to so high a pinnacle of fortune, he became more formidable both at home and abroad, than most Princes that had ever sat upon the English Throne. And it was said that Cardinal Mazarine would change countenance whenever he heard him named; so that it passed into a proverb in France, "that he was not so "much afraid of the devil, as of Oliver "Cromwell." He had a manly stern look, and was of an active healthful constitution, able to endure the greatest toil and fatigue. Though brave in his person, yet he was wary in his conduct; for from the time he was first declared *Protector*, he always wore a Coat of Mail under his clothes. His conversation among his friends was very diverting and familiar, but in public reserved and grave. He was sparing in his diet, though sometimes would drink freely,

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freely, but never to excess. He was moderate in all other pleasures, and for what was visible, free from immoralities, especially after he came to make a figure in the world. He wrote a tolerable good hand, and a stile becoming a gentleman; except when he had a mind to wheedle, under the mask of religion; which he knew nicely how to do, when his affairs required it. He affected for the most part a plainness in his clothes; but in them, as well as in his Guards and Attendance, he appeared with magnificence upon public occasions. No man was ever better served, nor took more pains to be so. As he was severe to his enemies, so was he beneficent and kind to his friends. And if he came to hear of a man fit for his purpose, though never so obscure, he sent for him, and employed him; "suiting the "employment to the person, and not the "person to the employment." And upon this maxim in his government depended in a great measure his success.

In matters of greatest moment, he trusted none but his secretary *Thurlo*, and oftentimes not him. An instance of which Thurlo used to tell of himself; "That he "was once commanded by Cromwell to go "at a certain hour to Gray's-Inn, and at "such a place deliver a Bill of Twenty "Thousand Pounds, payable to the Bearer "at Genoa, to a man he should find walk-

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"ing in such a habit and posture as he "described him, without speaking one "word." Which accordingly Thurlo did; and never knew to his dying day either the person or the occasion.

At another time the Protector coming late at night to Thurlo's office, and beginning to give him directions about something of great importance and secresy, he took notice that Mr. Moreland, one of the clerks, afterwards Sir Samuel Moreland, was in the room, which he had not observed before; and fearing he might have overheard their discourse, though he pretended to be asleep upon his desk, he drew a poniard, which he always carried under his coat, and was going to despatch Moreland upon the spot, if Thurlo had not with great entreaties prevailed with him to desist, assuring him that Moreland had sat up two nights together, and was now certainly fast asleep.

There was not the smallest accident that befell King Charles the Second in his exile, but he knew it perfectly well; insomuch that having given leave to an English nobleman to travel, upon condition he should not see Charles Stuart; he asked him at his return, If he had punctually obeyed his commands? Which the other affirming he had; Cromwell replied, "It is true you did not see him; for to "keep your word with me, you agreed to "meet

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"meet in the dark, the candles being put "out for that end." And withal, told him all the particulars that passed in conversation betwixt the King and him at their meeting.

The business of Dunkirk.

That he had spies about King Charles was not strange; but his intelligence reached the most secret transactions of other Princes; and when the matter was communicated to but very few. Of which we have a notable instance in the business of Dunkirk. There was an article in the treaty between France and the Protector, that if Dunkirk came to be taken, it should be immediately delivered up to the English; and his Ambassador Lockart had orders to take possession of it accordingly. When the French army, being joined with the English Auxiliaries, was on its march to invest the town, Cromwell sent one morning for the French Ambassador to Whitehall, and upbraided him publicly for his Master's designed breach of promise, in giving secret Orders to the French General to keep possession of Dunkirk, in case it was taken, contrary to the Treaty between them. The Ambassador protested he knew nothing of the matter, as indeed he did not, and begged leave to assure him, that there was no such thing thought of. Upon which Cromwell pulling a paper out of his pocket, "Here (says he) "is the copy of the Cardinal's Order:

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"and I desire you to despatch immediately "an express, to let him know, that I am "not to be imposed upon; and that if he "deliver not up the Keys of the Town of "Dunkirk to Lockhart within an hour "after it shall be taken, tell him I'll come "in person, and demand them at the "Gates of Paris." There were but four persons said to be privy to this Order, the Queen-Mother, the Cardinal, the Mareschal de Turenne, and a secretary, whose name it is not fit at this time to mention. The Cardinal for a long time blamed the Queen, as if she might possibly have blabbed it out to some of her women: whereas it was found, after the secretary's death, that he had kept a secret correspondence with Cromwell for several years; and therefore it was not doubted but he had sent him the copy of the Order abovementioned.

The Message had its effect; for Dunkirk was put into the possession of the English. And to palliate the matter, the Duke and Mareschal de Crequy was despatched into England Ambassador Extraordinary, to compliment Cromwell, attended with a numerous and splendid train of persons of quality; among whom was a Prince of the Blood, and Muncini, Mazarine's nephew, who brought a letter from his uncle to the Protector, full of the highest expressions of respect; and assuring his

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his Highness, "That being within view of "the English shore, nothing but the King's "indisposition (who lay then ill of the "small-pox at Calais) could have hindered "him from coming over to England, that he "might enjoy the honor of waiting upon "one of the Greatest men that ever was; "and whom next to his Master, his greatest "ambition was to serve. But being de- "prived of so great a happiness, he had "sent the person that was nearest to him "in blood, to assure him of the profound "veneration he had for his person, and "how much he was resolved, to the utmost "of his power, to cultivate a perpetual "amity and friendship betwixt his Master "and him."

Few Princes ever bore their character higher upon all occasions, than Oliver Cromwell, especially in his Treaties with Crowned Heads. And it is a thing without example, that it is mentioned by one of the best informed Historians of the age, Puffendorf, in the life of the late Elector of Brandenburgh, that in Cromwell's league with France against Spain, he would not allow the French King to call himself King of France, but of the French; whereas he took to himself not only the title of Protector of England, but likewise of France. And which is yet more surprising, and which can hardly be believed, but for the authority of the author, whose own words

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are in the margin, in the instrument of the Treaty, the Protector's name was put before the French King's. It is true, France was then under a Minority, and was not arrived at that greatness to which it has since attained. Towards which, Cromwell contributed not a little, by that league with France against Spain; being the falsest step he ever made, with respect to the Tranquillity of Europe.

Pufendorf de Rebus Gestis Frederici Wilhelmi Electoris Brandenburgici, p. 313. Id porro Bellum Protectoris in Hispanos adeo opportunum, Gallo accedebat, ut summo Studio ipsum sudore sibi inspectare studeret, etiam concesso, ut Cromwellus eundem, Gallorum Regem, non Galliarum nuncuparet, aliàs ipse Protectoris quoque Francise, vocabulum, sicut Angliæ assumpturus: Simul pateretur Cromwellum Instrumento suo Nomen titulumque ante Gallicum ponere.

As every thing did contribute to the Fall of King Charles I, so did every thing contribute to the Rise of Cromwell. And as there was no design at first against the King's life, so it is probable that Cromwell had no thoughts, for a long time, of ever arriving at what he afterwards was. It is known he was once in treaty with the King, after the Army had carried his Majesty away from Holmby House, to have restored him to the Throne; which probably he would have done, if the secret had not been like to take vent, by the indiscretion of some about the King; which pushed Cromwell on to prevent *his own*, by the ruin of the King.

It is likewise certain, that the Title of Protector did not satisfy his ambition, but that he aimed to be King. The matter was for some time under consideration, both in his Mock Parliament, and Council of State; insomuch, that a *Crown* was actually made, and brought to Whitehall for

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for that purpose. But the aversion he found in the Army against it, and the fear of the Commonwealth Party, obliged him to lay the thoughts of it aside, at least for that time. Yet it is probable these high aims did not die, but with himself: for to be able with the help of Spanish Gold to carry on his design in England, without depending upon a Parliament for money, is thought was the true motive of his attempt upon St. Domingo; which was the only action of War he failed in.

But notwithstanding his specious pretences to the contrary, Cromwell invaded and betrayed the Liberties of his country, and acted a more Tyrannical and Arbitrary Part, than all the Kings of England together had done since the Norman Conquest. And yet after all, his good fortune accompanied him to the last; for after a long chain of success, he died in peace, and in the arms of his friends; was buried among the Kings with a royal pomp, and his death *condoled* by the greatest Princes and States of Christendom, in solemn Embassies to his Son.

But this is not all; for whatever reasons the House of Austria had to hate the memory of Cromwell, yet his causing the Portugal Ambassador's brother to be executed for a tumult in London, notwithstanding his plea of being a Public Minister as well as his brother, was near twenty

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years after Cromwell's death, brought as a precedent by the present Emperor, to justify his arresting and carrying off the Prince of Furstenburgh at the treaty of Cologne, notwithstanding Furstenburgh's being a Plenipotentiary for the Elector of that name. And in the printed Manifesto published by the Emperor upon that occasion, this piece of Cromwell's justice in executing the Portuguese gentleman, is related at large.

To sum up Cromwell's Character: It is observable, that as the Ides of March were equally fortunate and fatal to Julius Cæsar, another famous invader of the Liberties of his Country; so was the Third of September to Oliver Cromwell; for on that day he was born; on that day he fought the Three great Battles of Marston Moor, Worcester, and Dunbar; and on that day he died.

Cromwell died in the peaceable possession of the Sovereign Power, though disguised under another name, and left it to a son that had neither Heart nor Abilities to keep it. The genius of the Nation returned to its natural bias; and monarchy was so much interwoven with the Laws, Customs, and the first Threads of the English Constitution, that it was altogether impossible it could be ever totally worn out. Our ancestors had wisely settled themselves upon that bottom; and those very

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very men that some years before had justled out Monarchy, upon the account of its encroachments upon the rights of the people, were become as zealous now to restore it again, upon the encroachments that the assuming part of the people had made of late upon the rights of their fellow-subjects. For near two years together after Cromwell's death, the Government of England underwent various shapes, and every month almost produced a new scheme; till in the end all these convulsions co-operated to turn the nation again upon its true and ancient basis. Thence it was, that the Son of King Charles the First, after ten years exile, was restored to his Father's Throne in the year 1660, without blood, or any remarkable opposition.

The Restoration of K. Charles II.

This Revolution was the more to be admired, since not only all attempts to bring King Charles back by force of arms proved ineffectual, but that notwithstanding upon Cromwell's death, every thing at home seemed to concur to his restoration; yet the bare name of an English Parliament, though but the shadow of what formerly it was, continued to be so terrible abroad, that neither France nor Spain durst venture to give King Charles the least assistance to regain his Throne; but on the contrary, were obliged to treat him in a manner altogether unworthy of a Crowned Head: as appears

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appears by the following instances at the Treaty of the Pyrenees.

The behaviour of the French and Spaniards to K. Charles II. at the Treaty of the Pyrenees.

King Charles, after having in vain sought a sanctuary in France, was necessitated to throw himself upon the friendship of Spain. He was at Brussels when he received the news of the disposition that was in England to restore him just at the time the Conferences were to begin between Cardinal Mazarine and Don Lewis de Haro, the two Plenipotentiaries of France and Spain, in order to a General Peace. This determined King Charles to take post from Brussels through France, to the place of treaty, that he might in person represent his interests to these two Ministers. He judged the Spaniards had reason to be enemies to the then Government in England, for not only having taken Dunkirk and Jamaica from them, and entered into a league with Portugal against them, but for endeavouring all that was possible to persuade the French to continue the war. Upon the other hand it was but reasonable to think that France could not be well pleased to see the English master of such a Frontier Town as Dunkirk; or that Mazarine, the most ambitious man upon earth, would not be willing to raise his own glory, by espousing the cause of an exiled Prince, especially when there was so great probability of success.

Notwithstanding all these plausible appearances,

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pearances, King Charles made this long journey to no purpose. It is true, Don Lewis de Haro received him with all possible marks of respect: but the Cardinal positively denied him access. All he could be brought to, after several messages from the King, was to allow the Duke of Ormond to talk to him upon the road from St. Jean de Luz to the place of Treaty, as if it had been but an accidental rencounter. Ormond obtained nothing of the Cardinal but general and ambiguous answers; till, being pressed, he told Ormond plainly, "That all his Master could do for "his Cousin the King of England was, "to compassionate his misfortunes; as not "being in a condition himself to break "with the Government of England, with "which his affairs obliged him to keep a "good correspondence." Over and above this neglect of Mazarine, King Charles had the mortification to see Ambassador Lockhart received at the same time with the greatest pomp and splendor, having the Cardinal's coaches and guards sent a day's journey to receive him, and the Cardinal giving him the Right Hand, which was a respect he denied the Ambassadors of Crowned Heads. Nor was Don Lewis kinder upon the matter to King Charles, notwithstanding all his civilities; for having asked the command of the army in Flanders, which the Prince of Conde was by

Memoirs Politic of Monsieur Du Mont.

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by the treaty obliged to quit, Don Lewis refused it. All which will be a lasting example to posterity, "how little trust is to "be reposed in Foreign Aid, when a Prince "comes to need it, for recovering his "Throne."

Monk's part in the Restoration.

It were the highest injustice to deny General Monk the greatest share of the honor in Restoring King Charles II.; and yet it is a question whether his design to do it was of so long standing as some have reported. It is probable he had no thoughts that way, till about the time that Richard Cromwell was deprived of the government: in which he was afterwards the more confirmed, upon the Army in England's setting up once more for themselves. If he had really formed an intention at that time to bring back the King, it must be confessed he acted the part of a Politician much better than that of a Christian; for he declared once again at that time, *for a Commonwealth, without the King, a Single Person*, or *House of Lords;* and formally renounced the Family of the Stuarts. All which will appear by a Letter signed by him and his Officers to the Parliament, upon Richard's Abdication, and the Declaration itself, mentioned at length in the Appendix.

Appendix, Numb. XI.

It is hardly to be imagined he had a mind to set up for himself, as his enemies have given out; for he could not but see the

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the whole nation was returning apace to their Ancient Monarchical Principles; and therefore he had little else to do, but to comply awhile with the times, till by declaring for a Free Parliament, he paved the way for the King's return. It is certain the people that then assumed the Supreme Power were jealous of his intentions; and it was within an ace he escaped a trap laid for him, just at the time when he was ready to march from Scotland; which would have inevitably ruined his design, if a mere accident had not intervened.

For Monk keeping his ordinary residence at Dalkeith, some four miles on this side of Edinburgh, the London Packet touched constantly there, that the General might have his letters before it reached Edinburgh. The Committee of Safety being resolved to secure Monk, despatched secret orders to Scotland by the ordinary packet, lest an express might give suspicion; and instead of directing the label for Dalkeith, as was usual, it was ordered straight for Edinburgh. It happened that one of Monk's lifeguard met accidentally the Post turning out of the road that led to Dalkeith, and finding that he had not touched there, he brought him back, notwithstanding the label was directed otherwise. Monk suspecting something, opened all the letters that he found directed to the Officers of the Army; among which there

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was one from the Committee of Safety to Colonel Thomas Wilks, ordering him to "use the most effectual, speedy, and secret "way to secure the person of General "Monk, and to send him up to London "under a strong guard, in a frigate that "lay in Leith Road; and then to take "upon him the Command of the Army, "till further order."

Having taken out this, and what other letters he thought fit, together with his own from the same Committee, full of high compliments, and expressions of trust, he sent away the packet as it was directed. But having communicated the matter to some of his particular friends, he gave orders for a General Review of the Army to be made next morning at Edinburgh, where he arrested Colonel Wilks, and some other Officers he had reason to suspect, and sent them prisoners to the castle, filling up their Commissions with others of his own creatures.

Monk in his march through England, and after he came to London, carried on the thread of dissimulation with wonderful dexterity, till all things were fully ripe for throwing off the mask, and calling home the King. As he was singularly happy in being the chief instrument of that Revolution, he was no less in the sense King Charles continued to express of so great an obligation. And it showed him to be a man

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man of true judgment, That the Duke of Albemarle behaved himself in such a manner to the Prince he had thus obliged, as never to seem to overvalue the services of General Monk.

King Charles the Second proved one of the finest gentlemen of the age, and had abilities to make one of the best of Kings. The first years of his reign were a continued Jubilee. And while we were reaping the fruits of peace at home, after the miseries of a long Civil War, a potent neighbour was laying the foundation of a Power abroad, that has since been the envy and terror of Europe. One might have thought that his Parliament had glutted his ambition to the full, by heaping those Prerogatives upon him, which had been contested for with his father, at the expense of so much blood and treasure: but he grasped early after more, and from his first accession to the Crown showed but little inclination to depend upon Parliaments. Of which we have a remarkable instance in an affair that was one of the true causes of the disgrace of that Great Man, *Chancellor Clarendon*, which happened a few years after.

It looks as if Heaven took a more than ordinary care of England, that we did not throw up our Liberties all at once, upon the *Restoration* of that King; for though some were for bringing him back upon terms,

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terms, yet after he was once come, he possessed so entirely the hearts of his people, that they thought nothing was too much for them to grant, or for him to receive. Among other designs to please him, there was one formed at Court, to settle such a Revenue upon him by Parliament during life, as should place him beyond the necessity of asking more, except in the case of war, or some such extraordinary occasion. The Earl of Southampton, Lord High Treasurer, came heartily into it, out of a mere principle of honor and affection to the King; but Chancellor Clarendon secretly opposed it. It happened that they two had a private conference about the matter; and the Chancellor being earnest to bring the Treasurer to his opinion, took the freedom to tell him, That he was better acquainted with the King's temper and inclinations than Southampton could reasonably expect to be, having had long and intimate acquaintance with his Majesty abroad; and that he knew him so well, that if such a Revenue was once settled upon him for life, "neither of them two "would be of any further use; and that "they were not in probability to see many "more Sessions of Parliament during that "Reign." Southampton was brought over; but this passage could not be kept so secret, but it came to King Charles's ears, which, together with other things wherein

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wherein Clarendon was misrepresented to him, proved the true reason why he abandoned him to his enemies.

Notwithstanding this disappointment, King Charles made a shift, partly by his obliging carriage, partly by other inducements, to get more money from his first Parliament towards the expense of his pleasures, than all his predecessors of the Norman Race had obtained before, towards the charges of their wars. This Parliament had like to have been *Perpetual;* if the vigor wherewith they began to prosecute the Popish Plot, and the resentment they expressed against his Brother, had not obliged him, much against his will, to part with them, after they had sat near Nineteen Years.

The Discovery of the Popish Plot.

That there was at that time a Popish Plot, and that there always has been one since the Reformation, to support, if not restore the Romish Religion in England, scarce any body calls in question. How far the near prospect of a Popish Successor ripened the hopes, and gave new vigor to the designs of that party, and what methods they were then upon, to bring those designs about, *Coleman's Letters* alone, without any other concurring evidence, are more than sufficient to put the matter out of doubt. But what Superstructures might have been afterwards built upon an unquestionable foundation,

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and how far some of the Witnesses of that plot might come to darken truth by subsequent additions of their own, must be deferred till the Great Account, to be made before a Higher Tribunal: and till then, a great part of the Popish Plot, as it was then sworn to, will in all human probability lie among the darkest scenes of our English History. However, this is certain, the discovery of the Popish Plot had great and various effects upon the nation; and it is from this remarkable period of time we may justly reckon a new era in the English Account.

Its Effects. In the first place, it awakened the Nation out of a deep lethargy they had been in for nineteen years together; and alarmed them with fears and jealousies that have been found to our sad experience but too well grounded. In the next, it gave the rise to, at least settled, that unhappy distinction of *Whig* and *Tory* among the People of England, that has since occasioned so many mischiefs. And, lastly, the discovery of the Popish Plot began that open struggle between King Charles and his People, that occasioned him not only to dissolve his first Favourite Parliament, and the Three others that succeeded; but likewise to call no more during the rest of his Reign. All which made way for bringing in question the Charters of London, and other Corporations, with a great many dismal

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dismal effects that followed. It was likewise about this time that a certain set of men began a second time to adopt into our Religion a Mahometan principle, under the names of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance;* which, since the time of the Impostor that first broached it, has been the means to enslave a great part of the world.

The Bill of Exclusion.

The great share which the *Duke of York* was supposed to have had very early, in a design to overturn our Religion and Liberties, and the mighty hopes which the near prospect of a Popish Successor gave the Roman Catholics, of bringing about their Grand Project of rooting out the Northern Heresy, were the reasons why a great part of both Houses of Parliament had recourse to a *Bill* of *Exclusion* against the Duke, as the only effectual means they could think on in that juncture, to prevent our intended ruin. This Prince had been privately reconciled to Rome in the time of his exile: but it seems it was not thought convenient he should declare himself till several years after. And though he had abandoned the Worship of the Church of England, it was accounted a heinous crime to say he was a Roman Catholic, when every body knew that he was one; and some were fined in great sums of money for saying it. King Charles's Conversion (if we believe Huddleston the

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Priest) was of an older date: but, if true, he either wanted courage, or thought it not his interest to declare himself in his life-time. If he had any design of introducing Popery, he knew the temper of the Nation too well, to imagine it could be brought about in a short time, or by such open and barefaced methods as his Brother was pleased afterwards to put in practice.

But the truth is, King Charles was neither Bigot enough to any Religion, nor loved his ease so little, as to embark in a business that must at least have disturbed his quiet, if not hazarded his Crown. The Romish Emissaries knowing this, were resolved to make sure of one of the Brothers: and the Duke was now the Rising Sun; King Charles having no prospect of issue by the Queen. It was not the Roman Catholics alone that began to pay him their early devotions; there were others that came nothing short of them in their addresses to him. He had in the time of his banishment, and after the Restoration, acquired the reputation of being brave, and skilled in the art of war: Flanders and the Ocean were the Theatres on which he had given unquestionable proofs of both; having commanded the Spanish Horse in the one, and the English Fleet on the other. From a Prince thus possessed of a warlike character, and thus devoted to the

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See of Rome, it was no wonder the Roman Catholics expected, and the Protestants feared some extraordinary change in England, if ever he should come to wear the Crown. And therefore as it was the interest of the first to have him upon the Throne, so it was equally the interest of the latter to exclude him from it.

It is said King Charles came in at first to the Bill of Exclusion, or seemed to do so. The Favourite Mistress was prevailed with, from secret motives and prospects of her own, to concur with others in persuading him to abandon his Brother; and waving the Duke's Right, to accept of an Act of Parliament in his own favour, like that made in the Reign of Henry VIII. by which he should have a power invested in him, "to dispose of the Crown at his "Death, under such Restrictions and Li-"mitations as should be agreed on."

Whether any such Act was really intended, it is hard to determine; but it is certain such an offer was made to King Charles, with a promise of a considerable sum of money, towards the supplying his pressing wants. It is likewise certain, that King Charles seemed willing to accept of it; till it happened that a Foreign Court, whose interest it was to support the Duke of York, struck up a bargain with the King, to give him more money for *refusing*,

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ing, than had been offered him for *consenting* to the Bill of Exclusion.

Some time before the Popish Plot came upon the stage, King Charles had been prevailed with to marry the Eldest of his Nieces to the Prince of Orange, as he did afterwards the Youngest to the Prince of Denmark: the happiest actions of his life, and by which he made a sufficient atonement for all the errors of his reign. It were ingratitude to enquire too narrowly into the motives that induced him to these Matches: it is enough to entail a lasting honor on his name, that he did it, and did it against the advice of his Brother, and in spite of all the solicitations that were made to him from abroad, to marry them to Princes of the Romish Religion. The Parliament had in their view the Princess of Orange, in the Bill of Exclusion; and it was she and the Prince her husband that were to have filled the throne, upon the death of their Uncle. But King Charles either not daring, or not willing to consent to the Bill, he dissolved both that and the next Parliament at Oxford, merely to ward off the blow that threatened his Brother.

After the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, King Charles shewed but little inclination to call any more; and was prevailed with to enter into harsher measures than

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than hitherto he had taken; and which seemed contrary to his natural goodness and temper. The Charters of the City of London, and other Corporations, stood in the way of an *Absolute* Government; and it was resolved to break through this barrier. In order to which, *Quo Warrantos* were brought against them; and in progress of time they were either surrendered by the Corporations themselves, or vacated in Westminster Hall, by a set of Judges picked out for that purpose. And it was resolved thereby to make one of the Estates of Parliament depend entirely upon the Will and Nomination of the Prince.

While these *Quo Warrantos* were going on, whole peals of *Anathemas* were rung out against those Patriots that had stood up for the liberties of their country in the preceding Parliaments. And it was looked upon as a crime against the State, for any one to regret the approaching fate of his country. Even the Holy Scriptures themselves were made a Stale for Arbitrary Power; and the Laws which were given to the Jews, as they were a Political State, were now brought in upon every occasion, to countenance the designs of the Court. As if those Laws which were intended only to support the Political Government of the Jews, were the real foundation of the Christian Religion; or that the Constitution of England was founded upon

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Jewish doctrine. All which was not much for the honor of those gentlemen that broached that notion. This was a time never to be forgot, when to wish well to our Country, was a crime; and when Heaven itself was ranked upon our enemies' side, by some that pretended to expound its will. In some places a new kind of Funeral Harangues came in fashion: our Laws, our Liberties, our Parliaments, our Native Rights were to be buried; but instead of dropping a tear at their funeral, fulsome panegyrics were made upon their murderers, and curses denounced against those that would have retrieved them from destruction.

The disgrace of the Duke of Monmouth and its consequences.

All these transactions were attended with the public disgrace of the Duke of Monmouth. This gentleman stood possessed of all the qualities requisite to gain him the love of the People, and stir up the jealousy of the Duke of York. King Charles had heaped Honors upon him; and nothing pleased him so much as to see him Great. He had been sent to Scotland in the year 1679, to suppress an Insurrection which the severity of Lauderdale's Administration had occasioned; where his lenity towards a people, made by oppression mad, gained him the ill-will of a predominant party at Court. The zeal he shewed some time after in the prosecution of the Popish Plot, and his friendships with some

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some that were professed enemies to the Duke, concurred to his fall. Yet King Charles still continued underhand the same tenderness for him; though he was declared in public to be in disgrace. The Duke's Faction at home, and a Foreign Interest abroad, were too powerful for King Charles to grapple with, even though the fortune of a favorite Son was at stake.

The more he was depressed by the envy of his Uncle, the higher he rose in the affections of the people; till the breaking out of what was called the Protestant Plot, overwhelmed not only him, but a whole Party with him. This plot was in some part a greater mystery than the Popish Plot had been before, and had more dismal effects. The shattered remains of English liberty were then attacked on every side; and some of the Noblest Blood in the nation was offered up a sacrifice to the manes of Popish martyrs, and made to atone for the Bill of Exclusion. Swearing came once more into fashion, and a new *Evidence-Office* was erected at Whitehall. But whereas the witnesses of the Popish Plot were browbeaten and discouraged, those of the Protestant Plot were highly encouraged; and instead of Judges and Juries that might perhaps boggle at half-evidence, as it fell out in the prosecution of the former; care was taken in this to pick out such as should stick

The Protestant Plot.

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stick at nothing to serve a turn. It was by such Judges and Juries that the Lord Russel and Mr. Sidney fell, and the cutting off those two Nobles' lives may be reckoned among the first triumphs of the Duke's Party in England.

It is true King Charles seemed inclined to pardon both the one and the other; and the very day the Lord Russel was executed, some words escaped him, that shewed sufficiently his irresolution in that matter: but by this time he was too far gone, to make a handsome retreat on a sudden; and there was observed ever after a sensible change in his temper; for from an easiness and debonairness that was natural to him, he came at length to treat men with hard names, and upon some occasions to express a severity in his disposition, that he had been ever averse to before.

The rest of that Reign was one continued invasion upon the Rights of the People, and the Nation seemed unwilling now to contend for them any more. King Charles, notwithstanding his great abilities and fitness for business, appeared to be quite lulled asleep with the charms of a new swelled-up prerogative; while some of our Neighbours were playing their game, to the prejudice of England abroad, and the Duke's creatures were managing all things to their own mind at home.

Nature

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Nature prevailed upon King Charles at length; and the shame of seeing himself imposed upon by others far short of him in parts, and that the Court was anticipating his death, by their Addresses to his Brother, as if he had been already King, did help to awaken him out of his slumber, and brought him to lay a project for a mighty change in the affairs of England, which probably might have made both him and the Nation happy. If he had lived but a few weeks longer, Monmouth had been recalled to Court, the Duke of York had been sent beyond sea, and a New Parliament convened. But what further was to follow, must be buried with his ashes, there being nothing left us but bare suspicions of what might have been. This is certain, his death came opportunely for the Duke; and in such a manner, and with such circumstances, as will be a problem to posterity, whether he died a natural death, or was hastened to his grave by treachery.

The Death of King Charles II.

In so nice a point as this is, it becomes one that would write impartially, to set down, with the exactest fidelity, every thing of moment of either side that may determine the reader in his judgment, without venturing to give his own. This rule I have set to myself, in laying down the following particulars.

It is confest few Princes come to die a sudden

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The Suspicions about the manner of it considered.

sudden death, but the world is apt to attribute it to foul play, especially if attended with unusual circumstances in the time and manner of it. King Charles had a healthful constitution beyond most men, and took great care to preserve it by diet and exercise, which naturally promise a long life. And it was more extraordinary to see such a man die before threescore, than another in the bloom of youth. Now if he died a natural death, it is agreed by all, that it must have been an apoplexy. This disease seizes all the vital faculties at once; and yet for the most part, does not only give some short warnings of its approach by unusual affections of the head, but many times is occasioned by some evident preceding cause. In King Charles's case there appeared no visible cause, either *near* or *remote*, to which with any certainty of reason his disease could be ascribed; and the forerunners of it were rather to be found in the stomach and bowels than in the head. For after he was in bed, he was overheard to groan most of the night: and both then, and next morning, before he fell into the fit, he complained first of a heavy oppression in his stomach, and about his heart, and afterwards of a sharp pain in those parts; all which symptoms had but little relation to an apoplexy. That morning there appeared to every body about him a ghastliness and paleness

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in his looks: and when he sat down to be shaved, just before the fit took him, he could not sit straight as he used to do, but continued in a stooping posture, with his hand upon his stomach, till the fit came. After he had been brought out of it by opening a vein, he complained of a racking pain in his stomach, and of no indisposition any where else: and during the whole time of his sickness, and even when he seemed most insensible, he was observed to lay his hand for the most part upon his stomach, in a moaning posture, and continued so to his death. And so violent was the pain, that when all hopes were gone, the physicians were desired to use all their art to procure him an *easy death*.

So much for the distemper itself: there remains some things to be taken notice of, that fell out before and after his death. A few days before he was taken ill, King Charles being in company where the present posture of affairs was discoursed of, there escaped him some warm expressions about the uneasy circumstances he was plunged into, and the ill measures which had been given him: and how in a certain particular affair he was pleased to mention he had been abused: adding in some passion, "That if he lived but a month lon-
"ger, he would find a way to make him-
"self easy for the rest of his life." This passage was whispered abroad next day; and

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and the rumour of recalling the Duke of Monmouth, and sending away the Duke of York, came to take air about the same time. Indeed all things were making ready to put the latter in execution; and there is reason to belive the King had intimated as much to the Duke himself; for some of his richest furniture was put up, and his chief servants ordered to be in readiness to attend their master upon an hour's warning; and yachts were waiting to transport some person of quality, without mentioning who it was, or whither bound. The Romish Party that managed about Court, were observed to be more than ordinary diligent and busy up and down Whitehall and St. James's, as if some very important affair was in agitation; and a new and unusual concern was to be seen on their countenances. Nor was it any wonder; for in this suspected change they were like to be the only losers, and all their teeming hopes were in a fair way to be disappointed. How far the principles of some of that party might leave them at liberty to push on their revenge for this designed affront, as well as to prevent the blow that threatened them, though without the privacy, much less the consent of the Duke of York, is left to the reader to judge.

There was a Foreign Minister, that, some days before the King fell ill, ordered his steward

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steward to buy a considerable parcel of black cloth, which served him and his retinue after for mourning: and the late Ambassador, Don Pedro Ronquillo, made it no secret, that he had a letter from Flanders the week before King Charles died, that took notice of his death, as the news there. But both these might fall out by mere accident.

There remains two things more that deserve some consideration in this matter. When his body was opened, there was not sufficient time given for taking an exact observation of his stomach and bowels; which one would think ought chiefly to have been done, considering the violent pains he had there: and, when a certain Physician seemed to be more inquisitive than ordinary about the condition of those parts, he was taken aside and reproved for his *needless curiosity*. In the next place, his body stunk so extremely within a few hours after his death, notwithstanding the coldness of the season, that the people about him were extremely offended with the smell: which is a thing very extraordinary, in one of his strong and healthful constitution; and is not a proper consequent of a mere apoplectical distemper.

There was some weight laid upon an accident that fell out at Windsor some years before his death: for the King drinking more liberally than usual, after the fatigue

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fatigue of riding, he retired to the next room, and wrapping himself up in his cloak, fell asleep upon a couch. He was but a little time come back to the company, when a servant belonging to one of them, lay down upon the same couch, in the King's cloak, and was found stabbed dead with a poniard. Nor was it ever known how it happened, but the matter hushed up, and no enquiry made about it.

Further reflections on King Charles's death, as related in Ralph's History of England, and given in the Appendix, No. XXIV.

To conclude: Dr. Short, who was a man of great probity and learning, and a Roman Catholic, made no scruple to declare his opinion to some of his intimate friends, that he believed King Charles had foul play done him. And when he came to die himself, expressed some suspicion that he had met with the same treatment for opening his mind too freely on that point.

So much for the circumstances of King Charles's death that seem to have an ill aspect. There are others that seem to destroy all suspicions of treachery on the matter.

As first, he had lived so fast, as might enervate in a great measure the natural force of his constitution, and exhaust his animal spirits; and therefore he might be more subject to an apoplexy, which is a disease that weakens and locks up these spirits from performing their usual functions. And though in his latter years he had given himself more up to the pleasures

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sures of wine than of women, that might rather be the effect of age than of choice.

Next, it is known he had been once or twice attacked before, with fits that much resembled those of which he afterwards died: and yet as the manner of them is told, they look rather to have been Convulsive Motions, than an Apoplexy; seeing they were attended with violent contortions of his face, and convulsions of his whole body and limbs. This is the more confirmed, by a passage that happened during the heat of the Popish Plot. King Charles had some secret matters to manage at that time, by the means of a Romish Priest then beyond sea, whom he ordered to be privately sent for: and the gentleman employed betwixt the King and him (from whom I had the story) was directed to bring him in a disguise to Whitehall. The King and the Priest were a considerable time together alone in the closet, and the gentleman attended in the next room: at last the Priest came out with all the marks of fright and astonishment in his face; and having recovered himself a little, he told the gentleman that he had run the greatest risk ever man did; for while he was with the King, his Majesty was suddenly surprised with a fit, accompanied with violent convulsions of his body, and contorsions of his face, which lasted for some moments; and when he was going to call

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out for help, the King held him by force till it was over, and then bid him not be afraid, for he had been troubled with the like before; the Priest adding what a condition he should have been in, considering his religion, and the present juncture of affairs, if the King had died of that fit, and nobody in the room with him besides himself.

But leaving this story to the credit of the Priest; there might be another natural cause assigned for King Charles's falling into such a fit as that of which he died; which is this: he had had for some time an issue in his leg, which run much, and consequently must have made a great revulsion from his head, upon which account it is probable it was made. A few weeks before his death, he had let it be dried up, contrary to the advice of his Physicians, who told him it would prejudice his health. Their prognostic was partly true in this, that there came a painful tumor upon the place where the issue had been, which proved very obstinate, and was not thoroughly healed up when he died.

In fine, it is agreed on all hands, that King Charles expressed no suspicion of his being poisoned, during all the time of his sickness: though it must be also observed, that his fits were so violent, that he could not speak when they were upon him, and shewed an aversion to speaking during

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during the intervals. And there was not any thing to be seen upon opening his body, that could reasonably be attributed to the force of poison. Yet, to allow these considerations no more weight than they can well bear, this must be acknowledged, that there are poisons which affect originally the animal spirits, and are of so subtle a nature, that they leave no concluding marks upon the bodies of those they kill.

The Character of K. Charles II.

Thus Reigned, and thus Died King Charles the Second; a Prince endowed with all the qualities that might justly have rendered him the delight of mankind, and entitled him to the character of one of the greatest geniuses that ever sat upon a Throne, if he had not sullied those excellent parts with the soft pleasures of ease, and had not entertained a fatal friendship, that was incompatible with the interest of England. His religion was *Deism*, or rather that which is called so: and if in his exile, or at his death, he went into that of Rome; the first was to be imputed to a complaisance for the company he was then obliged to keep, and the last to a lazy diffidence in all other religions, upon a review of his past life, and the near approach of an uncertain state. His person was tall and well-made, his constitution vigorous and healthy; and it is hard to determine, whether he took more pains to preserve it by

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diet and exercise, or to impair it by excess in his pleasures. In health he was a great pretender to physic, and encourager of Quacks, by whom he was often cheated of considerable sums of money for their pretended secrets: but whenever he was indisposed, he consulted his physicians, and depended on their skill only.

His face was composed of harsh features, difficult to be traced with the pencil; yet in the main it was agreeable; and he had a noble majestic mien. In contradiction to all the common received rules of physiognomy, he was merciful, good-natured, and in the last twenty-four years of his life, fortunate, if to succeed in most of his designs may be called so. Never Prince loved ceremony less, or despised the pageantry of a Crown more; yet he was master of something in his person and aspect, that commanded both love and veneration at once.

He was a great votary to love, and yet the easiest and most unconcerned rival. He was for the most part not very nice in the choice of his Mistresses, and seldom possessed of their first favours; yet would sacrifice all to please them; and upon every caprice of theirs, denied himself the use of his reason, and acted contrary to his interest. He was a respectful, civil husband; a fond father, a kind brother; an easy enemy; but none of the firmest or most

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most grateful friends: bountiful by starts; one day lavish to his servants; the next leaving them to starve: glad to win a little money at play, and impatient to lose but the thousandth part of what within an hour after he would throw away in gross. He seemed to have had nothing of jealousy in his nature, neither in matters of love nor power. He bore patiently rivals in the one, and competitors in the other; otherwise he would not have contributed to a Foreign Greatness at Sea, nor given his brother so uncontroled a share in the Government.

Though his understanding was quick and lively, with a vast compass of thought, yet he would submit his judgment in the greatest matters to others of much inferior parts: and as he had an extraordinary share of wit himself, so he loved it in others, even when pointed against his own faults and mismanagements. He had read but little, yet he had a good taste of learning, and would reason nicely upon most sciences. The Mechanics were one of his peculiar talents, especially the art of building and working of Ships; which nobody understood better, nor if he had lived, would have carried it farther. He had a strong laconic way of expression, and a genteel, easy, and polite way of writing: and when he had a mind to lay aside the King, which he often did in se-

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lect companies of his own, there was a thousand irresistible charms in his conversation. He loved Money only to spend it: and would privately accept of a small sum paid to himself, in lieu of a far greater to be paid into the Exchequer.

He did not love business; and sought every occasion to avoid it; which was one reason that he passed so much of his time with his Mistresses: yet when necessity called him, none of his Council could reason more closely upon matters of State; and he would often by fits outdo his Ministers in application and diligence. No age produced a greater master in the art of *dissimulation;* and yet no man was less upon his guard, or sooner deceived in the sincerity of others. If he had any one fixed maxim of Government, it was to play one party against another, to be thereby the more master of both: and no Prince understood better how to shift hands upon every change of the scene. To sum up his character, he was dexterous in all the arts of Insinuation; and had acquired so great an ascendant over the affections of his people, in spite of all the unhappy measures he had taken, that it may in some sense be said, he died opportunely for England; since if he had lived, it is probable we might in compliance with him, have complimented ourselves out of all the remains of Liberty, if he had but a mind to be master of them; which

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which it is but charity to believe he had not, at least immediately before his death.

There is one thing more that may help to make up the character of this Prince, that in the lines and shape of his face (all but the teeth) he had a great resemblance of the ancient Bustos and Statues we have of the Emperor Tiberius: insomuch that one of the most learned men of this age told me, that walking in the Furnesian Gardens at Rome, with a Noble Italian that had been at the Court of England, he took notice of this resemblance in an Antique Statue of Tiberius; and asking the Italian if he remembered any Prince he had seen that resembled it, the other immediately named King Charles. As there was a great likeness betwixt these two Princes in their faces, there was likewise some in their Maxims of Government, the Time of their Age in which they came to govern, the Length of their Reigns, and the Suspicions about the manner of their Death. And indeed, excepting Tiberius's temper, his cruelty, jealousy, and unnatural lusts, any one that is acquainted with both their stories, will easily find something of a parallel betwixt them. Nor is this any reflection upon the memory of King Charles; for except in what I named, Tiberius may be reckoned among the wisest and the bravest of those that wore the Imperial Purple.

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The Reign of King James II.

Upon King Charles's death, James Duke of York mounted the Throne, by the name of King *James the Second.* All the former heats and animosities against him, and even the very memory of a Bill of Exclusion, seemed to be now quite forgot, amidst the loud acclamations of his people at his Accession to the Crown. He had many years of experience when he came to it; and few of his predecessors could boast of the like advantages: in most of the transactions of the preceding reign he had borne a considerable share as to action, but much more as to counsel and influence. In the post of Lord High Admiral of England, he had large opportunities to be fully acquainted with the native strength, and peculiar interest of the nation, I mean the affairs of the Navy; in which he had acquired deservedly a great reputation. He had met with but too many occasions to understand the genius and temper of the people he was to govern, and to know how far it was impracticable to overturn the Established Religion, or to introduce a new one, for he had wrestled through a great many difficulties upon the account of his own. He could not but have a true value for his brother's great parts and abilities, and be acquainted with the arts by which he gained and preserved the affections of his people, notwithstanding all the hardships

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ships he had been induced sometimes to put upon them: and he had seen how fearful and averse he had been to push things too far, or to drive his subjects to extremities.

He had before him the fatal example of a Father, who, though he was a Protestant, yet upon a false suspicion of having a design to introduce Popery, was sent to his grave by a violent death; and he was past childhood when that tragedy happened, and had suffered ten years banishment, among other consequences that attended it. He had been acquainted abroad with a Princess famed for parts and learning, who resigned her Crown, apprehending she might be divested of it for embracing the Romish Religion, by those very subjects that held her before in the greatest veneration, both upon her own account, and that of a father, who had raised them to the highest pitch of glory that ever the Swedish nation arrived to. And he might have remembered what his mother said upon her return to Somerset House after the Restoration, "That if she had known "the temper of the People of England "some years past, as well as she did then, "she had never been obliged to leave "that house." But the history of his Ancestors might have more fully informed him, That those that grasped at immoderate Power, or a Prerogative above the Law,

Christina, the late Q. of Sweden.

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Law, were always unfortunate, and their reigns inglorious.

There was also a passage at his father's death, which he would have done well to have observed: he delivered his George to Dr. Juxon upon the scaffold, and bid him *remember*, without saying more. The council of state was willing to know the meaning of that expression, and called the Doctor before them, to give them an account of it; who told them, "That the King, "immediately before his coming out to "the place of execution, had charged him "to carry to the Prince his Son, his "George, with these his Two last com-"mands, That he should forgive his mur-"derers; and, That if he ever came to the "Crown, he should so govern his subjects, "as not to force them upon extremities."

Puffendorf, ut supra.

Over and above all this; one of the best Historians of the Age, who had the advantage of all the late Elector of Brandenburgh's Papers and Memoirs, acquaints us, That King Charles the Second delivering to King James at his death the key of his Strong Box, advised him "not to "think upon introducing the Romish reli-"gion into England, it being a thing that "was both dangerous and impracticable." And that the late Don Pedro Ronquillo, the Spanish Ambassador, at his first audience after the death of King Charles, having asked leave to speak his mind freely upon

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upon that occasion, made bold to tell him, "That he saw several Priests about him, "that he knew would importune him to "alter the Established Religion in Eng- "land; but he wished his Majesty would "not give ear to their advice; for if he "did, he was afraid his Majesty would "have reason to repent of it when it was "too late." This author tells us, That King James took ill the freedom of the Spanish Ambassdor; and asked him, in passion, Whether in Spain they advised with their Confessors? "Yes, Sir (answered Ronquillo) we do, and that is the "reason our affairs go so ill."

The same Historian does likewise inform us (but he does not tell us upon what grounds), that Pope Innocent XI. wrote a letter to King James upon his accession to the Crown, to this purpose, "That he was "highly pleased with his Majesty's zeal "for the Catholic Religion; but he was "afraid his Majesty might push it too far, "and instead of contributing to his own "greatness, and to the advancement of the "Catholic Church, he might come to do "both it and himself the greatest preju- "dice, by attempting that which his Holi- "ness was well assured, from long experi- "ence, could not succeed." This letter does very well agree with what I shall have occasion to mention afterwards, concern- ing

Pope Innocent XIth's Letter to K. James.

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ing the Earl of Castlemain's Embassy to Rome.

How far he profited by all these advantages on the one hand, and examples and advices on the other, will appear in the sequel.

The first Speech he made as King, the day his brother died, gave hopes of a happy Reign; and even those that had appeared with the greatest warmth against him before, were willing now to own themselves to have been mistaken, and were ready to express their repentance for what was past. For he told them, "That since it had "pleased Almighty God to place him in "that station, and that he was now to "succeed to so good and gracious a King, "as well as so very kind a brother, he "thought fit to declare to them, That he "would endeavour to follow his Example, "and especially in that of his great Cle- "mency and Tenderness to his People: "and that though he had been reported to "be a man for arbitrary Power, yet he was "resolved to make it his endeavour to "preserve the Government of England "both in Church and State, as it was then "Established by Law. That he knew the "Principles of the Church of England "were for Monarchy; and that the Mem- "bers of it had shewn themselves good "and loyal subjects; therefore he would always

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"always take care of it, and defend and "support it. That he knew that the Laws "of England were sufficient to make the "King as Great a Monarch as he could "wish: and that as he would never depart "from the just Rights and Prerogatives of "the Crown, so he would never invade any "man's property. Concluding, That as he "had often hitherto ventured his life in "defence of this Nation, so he was resolved "to go as far as any man in preserving it in "all its just Rights and Liberties."

If a Trajan or an Antoninus had been to lay down a Scheme of Government to make their People happy, they could not have done it in better terms, nor could the Nation well desire, or in reason wish for more. If his subsequent actions had come up to it, he had eternized his name, and might have revived in himself the memory of those of his ancestors who have deservedly given them by posterity, the character of Good and Great.

This promising Speech was not many days old, nor King Charles's ashes well cold, when the nation was alarmed with a Proclamation for "levying that part of "the Customs that had been granted to "his Brother only for life," and was expired at his death. This was not only an open violation of his Promise in his forementioned Speech, but of our fundamental Constitution, by which no money can be levied

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levied on the subject, but by their consent in Parliament. As it was contrary to Law, so it was altogether needless at that time, since a Parliament was to meet within a few days, which nobody doubted would, in a Parliamentary way, continue the same Customs for his Life, as they had been for his Brother's.

He was not the first Prince that did illegally seize what he had no Right to: but few instances can be given of a King that did openly violate the Constitution of his country, to obtain that which he was certain would be granted him in a legal manner, and with the good-will of his People.

Notwithstanding this unusual stretch of power upon his entering into the Administration, yet the Parliament he had called sat down in a good humour, and with a hearty inclination to do every thing in compliance with him, that might tend to his Honor or Safety. His speech to both Houses was much of the same strain with his former to the Council upon his Brother's death, but more full. "He demanded the settling of his Revenue "during Life, as it was in his Brother's "time; and acquainted them with the "Earl of Argyle's Landing in Scotland; "and threatened to reward his Treason as "it deserved."

This Speech buoyed up the minds of the

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the People that had been sufficiently stunned before with the unprecedented Proclamation for levying the customs; and so earnest was the Parliament to give the King no just occasion of displeasure, and so great a confidence did they place in a Royal Promise from the Throne, that they immediately complied with him in the matter of the Revenue, thanked him for his Speech, and resolved by an unanimous vote, "To assist him with their "lives and fortunes against the Earl of "Argyle, and all other his enemies whatsoever."

Some few days after, the Bill for settling his Revenue, was presented to him for his assent; upon which occasion he made them another memorable speeeh: he thanked them for the Bill; told them "of "want of Stores in the Navy and Ordnance; of the Anticipations that were "upon several Branches of the Revenue; "of the Debts due to his Brother's Servants and Family; which he said were "such as deserved compassion; and of "the extraordinary charges he must be at "in suppressing the Rebellion in Scotland:" upon all which accounts he demanded an extraordinary Supply; and summed up all, with recommending to them the care of the Navy, which he was pleased to call "the Strength and Glory "of the Nation." And in the end told them

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Appendix, Num. XII. His Speech to the Parliament.

them, "He could not express his concern "upon that occasion more suitable to his "own thoughts of it, than by assuring "them, He had a true English Heart, as "jealous of the Honor of the Nation, as "Theirs could be: and that he pleased "himself with the hopes, that by God's "Blessing and the Parliament's assist- "ance, he might carry the reputation of "it higher in the world, than ever it had "been in the time of any of his Ances- "tors."

It was no wonder that a Speech of this strain, so becoming an English Monarch, did meet with a kind reception from an English Parliament, and be answered, as it was with a large Supply; since a neighbouring Court was thereupon at a stand what to think of a Prince they had reckoned upon as their *own*, and of whose real friendship this unexpected Speech gave them ground to doubt. They well knew, that a true English Heart was diametrically opposite to their designs; and that a King, jealous of the Honor of the English Nation, must needs be an enemy to all encroachments of any neighbouring State. To plunge that Court yet the more into a maze of thoughts about King James upon this occasion, the "carrying the reputa- "tion of England yet higher in the world "than ever it had been in the time of any "of his Ancestors," were words that seemed to

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to promise no less than the imitating, or rather out-doing of an Edward III. or a Henry V. that had raised to themselves immortal trophies, at the expense of their neighbours, and wrote their own panegyrics with their enemies' blood.

How this Speech was relished abroad, cannot be better expressed, than in Two Letters written at that time by a certain Great Minister, to an Ambassador here, which being communicated to me by a Noble Person, into whose hands many of that Ambassador's Papers happened to fall upon the late Revolution, they are placed at length in the Appendix in English.

In the first of these Letters, that Minister discovers a sort of diffidence in King James, "as if he were not the man they "had taken him for." Expresses his fears, that a cordial agreement between him and the Parliament might unhinge all the measures that had been so long concerting betwixt him and his Master, when King James was but Duke of York. He recommends to the Ambassador, "to "enquire narrowly into the motives and "the advisers of this Speech to the Par-"liament," as the most considerable service that could be done in that juncture. Appendix, No. XIII.

The other Letter chides the Ambassador, for not being yet able to sound King James's intentions; and tells him, "They "had received from a sure hand better

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"news than what it appears the Ambas-
"sador had written." And what is most remarkable in the whole Letter, there is in it a plain insinuation, "That there was in "that Court some great matter under con-"sideration, concerning the Edict of Nants, "which was not to be declared until King "James's intentions were fully known." And concludes with a command to the Ambassador, "to sift out how King "James stood affected to the Prince of "Orange."

What discoveries were made in obedience to these Letters, can be no otherwise guessed at but by the event; for at this very time the unfortunate *Duke of Monmouth*, by a desperate, ill-timed attempt to overturn King James's Throne, did all that in him lay to fix it the faster.

King Charles, as I have said, loved Monmouth tenderly; and all the disgraces and hardships that had of late years been put upon him, were rather the effects of fear and policy, than inclination or choice. He was fond of him to that degree, that though he was the greatest master in the art of dissimulation, yet he could not refrain sometimes, in company where he might be free, from regretting his own hard fortune, which necessitated him to frown upon a Son, whose greatest crime was to have incurred his Brother's displeasure.

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His fondness was yet more expressed in his behaviour to the Duke of Monmouth, upon the discovery of that which was called the Protestant Plot, and in the manner he brought him back to Court, after the ferment was a little abated. All the time Monmouth was absconding, and when there was a Proclamation out for apprehending him, King Charles not only knew where he was, and sent him messages every day, but saw him several times in private. When the Duke's anger was a little appeased by the sacrifices that were offered up to it, King Charles thought it was then time to have his Son once again about him. In order to which, he so managed the matter, that Monmouth should owe the favor to the Duke of York, and that his pardon should be granted merely at the Duke's intercession.

The night he appeared first at Court upon his reconciliation, King Charles was so little master of himself, that he could not dissemble a mighty joy in his countenance, and in every thing he did or said: insomuch, that it was the public talk about town, and strongly insinuated to the Duke of York, that all the King's former proceedings against the Duke of Monmouth, were but grimace, and that his Royal Highness being made the instrument of the reconciliation, was all but a trick put upon him. This so far incensed the

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Duke, that he never rested till King Charles was prevailed with to demand of Monmouth the publication of a paper which he had signed under trust, and with an assurance given him that it should never be made public; which the party about the Duke knew Monmouth would not consent to, as being against his honor. They were not mistaken, for Monmouth refused it; and upon his refusal was disgraced once again.

King Charles's kindness ended not here, but attended him to Holland, whither he was obliged to retire. He found secret means to furnish him with money, and sent him messages from time to time, and sometimes wrote to him with his own hand. He could not bear any hard thing to be said of him in his absence; and some officious Courtiers found to their cost, that it was not the way to make their fortune, to aggravate Monmouth's crimes: nor did the King take any thing more kindly, than the noble reception Monmouth received from a Prince of his blood in a foreign country, when he was forced to abandon his own.

King Charles, tired out at last with the uncontrouled hardships that were every day put upon him by the Duke's creatures, and ashamed to see his own lustre obscured, and his power lessened by a party that had raised themselves upon Monmouth's ruin,

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ruin, he resolved to shift the scene; and in order to "make himself easy for the rest "of his life," as he expressed it, he determined to send away the Duke of York, and recall the Duke of Monmouth.

April was the time agreed on to put this resolution in practice; but there is little left us by which we can judge whether Monmouth was to be recalled to Court by a formal invitation of the King's, or whether King Charles's usual thread of dissimulation was to be spun out to that length, that Monmouth was to land with an Armed Force. The first seems more probable, if it were but for what he has written himself in the *Pocket-Book*, which there will be occasion to mention hereafter. It is true, the last looks more of a piece with the rest of his behaviour towards his Brother and Son, and more agreeable to his natural bias, which seldom inclined him to chuse the *high road*, when there could possibly be found a *by path* to tread in.

But death put a sudden stop to all King Charles's designs and Monmouth's hopes; and at the same time warded off a blow that threatened the Duke of York so near. And Monmouth being just ready to rise higher than ever, was left by all his good stars, which set with that Royal Sun that gave them birth and heat.

I would not be mistaken here, as if I

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were of opinion that in this new turn that was upon the anvil immediately before the death of King Charles, there was any design of altering the Succession, or bringing Monmouth within the view of a Crown: the whole course of King Charles's actions does sufficiently contradict any such thought: and though Monmouth was afterwards prevailed with by a headstrong party about him, to assume the Title of King, yet it is next to a certainty, that all that was originally aimed at by King Charles and the Duke of Monmouth, was only to weaken the Duke of York's faction, which was then become insupportable, by playing Monmouth's party against it; which was consistent with the only fixed Maxim of Government in that Reign, "That when any one Party grew too "strong, to throw in the Royal weight "into the lightest scale."

Monmouth was sufficiently stunned with this unexpected change in his fortune, by the death of King Charles: but his great courage and vain confidence in a popular affection and assistance, bore him up against all difficulties, and prompted him on to attempt by force of arms, what was never designed him by King Charles.

With three small ships, and about an hundred and fifty men, the Duke landed in the West of England, the Parliament sitting. A romantic kind of Invasion, and scarcely

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scarcely paralleled in history: yet with this handful of men, and the common people that joined him, without arms, provisions, martial discipline, money, or any one place of strength to retire to, in case of accidents, did this brave unfortunate man bid fair for a Crown: and if his ill fate had not placed a battalion of Dumbarton's regiment in his way, he had in all probability surprised the King's Army in their camp, and perhaps at that single blow decided the fortune of England for once. Yet this attempt may be said to have paved the way for a nobler change in the Throne, by leaving King James at liberty through this success to act without controul, what at length tumbled him down.

Monmouth paid the price of his Rebellion with his blood: and King James, in ordering him to be brought into his presence under the sentence of death, was pleased to make one exception against a general rule observed inviolably among Kings "Never to allow a criminal under "the sentence of death, the sight of his "Prince's face, without a design to pardon "him."

There is nothing delivered concerning this unfortunate gentleman, but what I have unquestionable grounds for, and which some persons yet alive, of the first quality, know to be true. But of the

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most things above-mentioned, there is an infallible proof extant under Monmouth's own hand, in a little Pocket-Book which was taken with him, and delivered to King James; which by an accident, that is needless to mention here, I had leave to copy, and did it in part. A great many dark passages there are in it, and some clear enough, that shall be eternally buried for me: and perhaps it had been for King James's honor to have committed them to the flames, as Julius Cæsar is said to have done upon a like occasion. All the use that shall be made of it, is only to give in the Appendix some few passages out of it, that refer to this subject, and confirm what has been above related.

Appendix, No. XIV.

Monmouth's character.

Monmouth seemed to be born for a better fate; for the first part of his life was all sunshine, though the rest was clouded. He was brave, generous, affable, and extremely handsome: constant in his friendships, just to his word, and an utter enemy to all sort of cruelty. He was easy in his nature, and fond of popular applause, which led him insensibly into all his misfortunes: but whatever might be the hidden designs of some *working heads* he embarked with, his own were noble, and chiefly aimed at the good of his country, though he was mistaken in the means to attain it. Ambitious he was, but not to the degree of aspiring to the Crown, till after

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his landing in the West; and even then, he was rather passive than active in assuming the title of King. It was importunity alone that prevailed with him to make that step; and he was inflexible, till it was told him, that the only way to provide against the ruin of those that should come in to his assistance, in case he failed in the attempt, was to declare himself King; "that they might be sheltered by "the statute made in the reign of Henry "VII. in favor of those that should obey "a King de Facto." Those that advised him had different ends in it: some to render the breach betwixt King James and him irreconcilable, and thereby pave a way for a Commonwealth, in playing them against one another. Others to prevent a possibility of his being reconciled to King James, by the merit of delivering up those that should join him; which was a thought unworthy of that nice sincerity he had shewn in all the former conduct of his life.

To confirm this, I remember to have heard Rumbold say openly at his execution in Scotland, upon the account of Argyle's Invasion, "That Monmouth had "broke his word with them, in declaring "himself King." And I have reason to know, that he was so far from a design upon the Crown before he left Holland, that it was not without great difficulty he was

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was persuaded to come over at all: and that upon King Charles's death he expressed a firm resolution to make no such attempt, but to live a retired life, without giving King James any disturbance.

In his latter years he used to complain of the little care that had been taken of his education; and in his disgrace endeavoured to make up that want, by applying himself to study, in which he made in a short time no inconsiderable progress. He took the occasion of his afflictions to inform his mind, and recollect and amend the errors of his youth; which it was not strange he should be tainted with, being bred up in all the pleasures of a luxurious Court. What sedate thoughts his retirement brought him to, and, which is in a great part hitherto a secret, how little inclination he had to *make a bustle in the world* (to give it in his own words) is best expressed in a letter of his own, to one that afterwards lost his life in his quarrel: which though without a date, appears to be written after King Charles's death, and is placed in the Appendix; which was delivered to me by a gentleman yet alive, that was entrusted with the key of that and other letters that were written at that time: which rather than discover, he chose to submit himself to be thrice cruelly tortured; all which he bore with a courage worthy of the ancient Romans.

Appendix, No. XV.

Mr. Spence, Secretary to the late Earl of Argyle.

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The Duke of Monmouth, when he was brought prisoner to King James's presence, made the humblest submissions for his life; and it is a mystery what could move King James to see him, when he had no mind to pardon him: but the manner of his death three days after, did more than acquit him of any meanness of spirit in desiring to live, since he died with the greatest constancy and tranquillity of mind, and such as became a Christian, a Philosopher, and a Soldier.

The storm being thus blown over that threatened his Crown, King James thought it time to cast off the mask, and to act without disguise what till then he had in some part endeavoured to dissemble. This Parliament had expressed a more than ordinary zeal in Attainting Monmouth, and had readily granted him a competent supply to suppress that Rebellion. Not only so, but to testify the confidence they had in his promises mentioned in the former speeches, the House of Commons passed a vote, *nemine contradicente*, "That they "did acquiesce, and entirely rely and rest "wholly satisfied on His Majesty's Gra-"cious Word, and repeated declarations to "support and defend the Religion of the "Church of England as it is now by Law "Established, which was dearer to them "than their lives." So that they had reason to expect some suitable returns to all this

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this kindness and confidence on their sides. But they were mistaken; for King James began to talk to them in a quite other strain than he had done before. And in another Speech from the Throne, gave them to understand by a plain insinuation, That he was now master, and that for the future they must expect to be governed, not by the known laws of the land, but by his own sole Will and Pleasure.

No part of the English Constitution was in itself more sacred, or better secured by law, than that by which "Roman Catho-"lics were declared incapable of Places of "Trust either Civil or Military in the Go-"vernment:" and he himself, when Duke of York, was forced by the Test Act to lay down his Office of Lord High Admiral, even at a time when he had not publicly owned his Reconciliation to the Church of Rome. But he did what lay in his power to break down this barrier, upon Monmouth's defeat. And in a Speech to his Parliament told them, "That after the "storm that seemed to be coming when he "parted with them last, he was glad to "meet them again in so great peace and "quietness. But when he reflected what "an inconsiderable number of men began "the late Rebellion, and how long they "carried it on without any opposition, he "hoped every body was convinced that "the Militia was not sufficient for such "occa-

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"occasions; and that nothing but a good "Force of Disciplined Troops was sufficient to defend us from insults at Home "and Abroad: and therefore he had increased the number of Standing Forces "to what they were:" and demanded a supply "to support the Charge of them, "which he did not doubt they would comply with." Then, as the main end of his Speech, and to let them know what he was positively resolved to do, he adds, "Let "no man take exception that there are "some Officers in the Army not qualified "according to the late Test for their employment: the Gentlemen, I must tell "you, are most of them well known to "me; and having formerly served me on "several occasions, and always approved "the Loyalty of their Principles by their "Practices, I think them now fit to be employed under me; and will deal plainly "with you, That after having had the benefit of their services in such time of "need and danger, I will neither expose "them to disgrace, nor myself to the want "of them, if there should be another Rebellion to make them necessary to me." And at last he tells them, "That he was "afraid some may hope that a difference "might happen betwixt him and his Parliament on that occasion; which he cannot apprehend can befal him, or that "any thing can shake them in their Loy-

K. James's Speech to the Parliament after Monmouth's Defeat. Appendix, No. XVI.

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"alty to him, who will ever make all re-
"turns of kindness and protection, and
"venture his life in the defence of the true
"interest of the nation."

It was no wonder that this Speech surprised a People who valued themselves so much upon their Liberties, and thought themselves secure of them, both from the Constitution of their Government, and the solemn repeated promises of their Prince. They found too late, that their fears in the former Reign, of a Popish Successor, were too well grounded, and how inconsistent a Roman Catholic King is with a Protestant Kingdom: The Parliament did in humble manner represent the inconvenience that might attend such measures, at least to render him inexcusable for what might ensue. And that they might not be wanting to themselves and their posterity, they voted an Address, wherein they told him, "That they had with all duty and readi-
"ness taken into consideration His Majes-
"ty's Gracious Speech. And as to that
"part of it relating to the Officers of the
"Army not qualified for their employment
"according to the Act of Parliament, they
"did out of their bounden duty humbly
"represent to His Majesty, that these Offi-
"cers could not by Law be capable of
"their employments; and that the inca-
"pacities they bring upon themselves that
"way could no ways be taken off but by
"an

The Parliament's Address to K. James upon that Speech.

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"an Act of Parliament: therefore out of "that great reverence and duty they owed "to His Majesty, they were preparing a "Bill to indemnify them from the incon- "veniences they had now incurred. And "because the continuing them in their "employments may be taken to be a dis- "pensing with law without an Act of Par- "liament, the consequence of which was "of the greatest concern to the Rights of "all his Subjects, and to all the Laws made "for the security of their Religion; there- "fore they most humbly beseech His "Majesty, that he would be graciously "pleased to give such directions therein, "that no apprehensions or jealousies might "remain in the hearts of his subjects."

Over and above what was contained in this Address, the House of Commons were willing to capacitate by an Act of Parliament, such a number of the Roman Catholic officers as King James should give a list of. But both this Offer and the Address were highly resented; and notwithstanding that they were preparing a Bill for a considerable Supply to answer his extraordinary occasions, and had sent to the Tower one of their Members for speaking indecently of his Speech, King James was influenced to part with this his first and only Parliament in displeasure, upon the fourth day after they presented the Address.

As his former Speeches to his Council and

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and Parliament had put a Foreign Court to a stand what to think of him; so this last put them out of pain, and convinced them he was entirely *theirs*. Their sense of it can hardly be better expressed than in a Letter from abroad contained in the Appendix; which by its style, though in another hand, seems to be from the same Minister that wrote the two former: in which he tells the Ambassador here, "That "he needed not a surer character of King "James and his Intentions, than this last "Speech to the Parliament, by which they "were convinced of his former Resolution "to throw off the fetters which Heretics "would impose upon him, and to act for "the time to come *en Maistre*, as Master:" a word till then altogether foreign to the English Constitution.

Appendix, No. XVII.

What other effects this speech had upon the minds of People at home and abroad, may be easily guessed from the different interests they had in it: nor is it to be passed over without some remark, That the *Revocation* of the *Edict of Nantes*, which probably had been some time under consideration before, was now put in execution, to the astonishment of all Europe.

The Parliament being dissolved, and no visible means left to retrieve the Liberties of England, King James made haste to accomplish the *grand design*, which a headstrong party about him pushed on as the certain

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certain way in their opinion to eternise his name in this world, and to merit an eternal crown in the other. They foresaw that this was the critical juncture, and the only one that happened since the days of Queen Mary, to restore their Religion in England. And if they were wanting to themselves in making use of it, the prospect of a Protestant Successor would infallibly prevent their having any such opportunity for the future. King James was pretty far advanced in years, and what was to be done required expedition; for all their labour would be lost if he should die before the accomplishment. If he had been younger, or the next presumptive heir had not been a Protestant, there had been no such absolute necessity for despatch: but the uncertainty of the King's life called for more than ordinary diligence in a design that depended merely upon it.

The Party being resolved, for these reasons, to bring about, in the compass of one single life, and that already far spent, what seemed to be the work of a whole age, they made large steps towards it. Roman Catholics were not only employed in the Army, but brought into places of greatest trust in the State. The Earl of Clarendon was forthwith removed from the office of Privy Seal, and the Government of Ireland, to make room for the Earl of Tyrconnel in the one, and the Lord Arundel

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in the other. Father Peters, a Jesuit, was sworn of the Privy Council. And though by the laws it was High Treason for any to assume the character of the Pope's Nuncio, yet these were become too slender cobwebs to hinder a Roman Prelate to appear publicly at London in that quality; and one of the greatest Peers of England was disgraced for not paying him that respect which the Laws of the Land made criminal.

A Pope's Nuncio in England.

Duke of Somerset.

An Ambassador sent to Rome.

To bear the public character of *Ambassador to the Pope*, was likewise an open violation of the laws: but so fond was the governing party about King James to shew their new acquired trophies at Rome, that the Earl of Castlemain was despatched thither Extraordinary Ambassador, with a magnificent train, and a most sumptuous equipage. What his secret instructions were, may be partly guessed by his public ones, which were, "To Reconcile the "Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and "Ireland, to the Holy See, from which "they had for more than an age fallen off "by heresy."

And slighted by the Pope.

Innocent XI. received this Embassy as one who saw farther than those who sent it. The Ambassador had but a cold reception of the Holy Father; and none of the Cardinals, but those of a particular faction, and the good-natured Cardinal of Norfolk, took any further notice of it, than good manners

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manners obliged them. The Court of Rome were too refined politicians to be imposed upon with shew and noise; and knew the world too well to expect great matters from such hasty, ill-timed advances as were made to them. Not only so, but Innocent having an aversion in his nature to a Faction he knew King James was embarked in, which he never took pains to dissemble, was not over fond of an Embassy from a Prince who was in an interest he had long wished to see humbled. King James met with nothing but mortifications at Rome in the person of his Ambassador, which occasioned his making as short a stay as was possible. In which may be seen the vast difference there was at that time betwixt the Politics of Italy, and those of a headstrong party in England. And however the world has been imposed upon to believe that the Pope's Nuncio at the English Court, who is since made a Cardinal, was an instrument to push on things to extremities; yet certain it is, he had too much good sense to approve of all the measures that were taken: and therefore desired often to be recalled, lest he should be thought to have a hand in them.

Cardinal Dada.

Although the Earl of Castlemain was pleased upon his examination before the Parliament, to say, that his Embassy to Rome was "only such as is between Two "Temporal Princes, about Compliment

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"and Commerce;" yet Father Warner in his Manuscript History, quoted by a learned author, gives us another account of it, in these words; "Things being thus "settled (says he) within the Realm; the "next care his Majesty had, was to unite "his Countries to the obedience of the "Bishop of Rome, and the Apostolic See, "which had been cut off by heresy about "an age and a half before. To try the "Pope's inclination, in the year 1685, he "sent Mr. Carryl thither, who succeeding "according to his wishes, and being re-"called, the Earl of Castlemain was sent "the next year, as Extraordinary Ambas-"sador to the Pope, in the name of the "King and the Catholics of England, to "make their submission to the Holy See."

Dr. Gee's animadversions on the Jesuit's Memorial for the intended Reformation of England, under the first Popish Prince. London, 1690.

Castlemain had several audiences of the Pope, but to little purpose; for whenever he began to talk of business, the Pope was seasonably attacked with a fit of coughing, which broke off the Ambassador's discourse for that time, and obliged him to retire. These audiences and fits of coughing continued from time to time, while Castlemain continued at Rome, and were the subject of diversion to all but a particular Faction at that Court. At length he was advised to come to threats, and to give out that he would be gone, since he could not have an opportunity to treat with the Pope about the business he came

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came for. Innocent was so little concerned for the Ambassador's resentment, that when they told him of it, he answered with his ordinary coldness, "E bene, se voul andersene ditegli adonque che si levi di "buon matino al fresco e che a mezzo "giorno si reposi, per che in questi paesi "non bisogna viaggiare al caldo del giorno."—"Well! let him go, and tell him, "It were fit he rise early in the morning, "that he may rest himself at noon; for in "this country it is dangerous to travel in "the heat of the day."

In the end, he was recalled; being able to obtain of the Pope two trifling requests only, that could hardly be denied to an ordinary Courier; the one was a license for the Mareschal d'Humiers' Daughter to marry her Uncle: and the other, "a Dispensation of the Statutes of the Jesuits "Order to Father Peters, to enjoy a Bishopric: the want of which," says my author, "was the reason that the Archbishopric of York was kept so long "vacant." Mercure Historique pour June, 1687.

Though the Pope carried himself in this manner towards the English Ambassador, yet the Jesuits paid him the highest respect imaginable; which did him no service with the Old Man, for he and that Order were never hearty friends. They entertained him in their Seminary with the greatest magnificence; and nothing was wanting in The Jesuits noble entertainment of the English Ambassador at Rome.

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nature or art to grace his reception. All their stores of Sculpture, Painting, Poetry, and Rhetoric, seem to have been exhausted upon this entertainment. And though all the Inscriptions and Emblems did center upon the triumph of the Romish Religion, and the Ruin of Heresy in England; yet care was taken not to omit such particular trophies and devices as were adapted to their new-acquired liberty of setting up their Public schools at London. Among a great many other panegyrics upon King James, the following distich was placed below an emblem of England:—

Restituit Veterem tibi Religionis honorem,
Anglia, Magnanimi Regis aperta fides.

The open zeal of this magnanimous King has restored to England its Ancient Religion.

There was also this inscription put round King James's picture:

Potentissimo & Religiosissimo
Magnæ Britanæ
REGI
JACOBO II.
Generosâ
Catholicæ Fidei Confessione
Regnum Auspicanti.
ET
INNOCENTIO XI. P. M.
Per Legatum
Nobilis-

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Nobilissimum & Sapientissimum
D. Rogerium Palmerium
Comitem de Castlemain
Obsequium deferenti.
Collegium Romanum
Regia Virtutum Insignia dedicat.

To the most Potent and most Religious JAMES the Second, King of Great Britain; beginning his Reign with the Generous Confession of the Catholic Faith.

AND

Paying his Obedience to Pope INNOCENT XI.

By the most Noble and most Wise Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemain, The Roman College Dedicates These Royal Emblems of his Virtues.

In the Great Hall the Ambassador was harangued by the rector of the College in a Latin speech; which to shew the vain hopes they had of King James and their own fortune at that time, is placed in the Appendix, with a translation of it into English: referring the reader for the rest of that solemnity, to an ingenious gentleman that was then upon the place, and has given a particular account of it.

Appendix, No. XVIII. Nouveau Voyage d'Italie, edit. 3 tom. 8. Par Monsieur Misson.

But yet it may not be amiss to mention what the same gentleman tells us, of a

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device that related to King James's having a son; which was a "lilly, from whose "leaves there distilled some drops of wa-"ter," which, as the naturalists say, becomes the seed of new lillies; and the motto was, "Lachrimor in prolem:"—"I "weep for children." Underneath was this distich:—

Pro Natis, Jacobe, gemmis, Flos candide Regum?
Hos Natura Tibi si neget, Astra dabunt.

Dost thou sigh for children, O James! thou best of Kings! If Nature denies, Heaven will grant them.

There was one inscription more this author takes notice of, which being one of the most unaccountable things of that kind, afforded matter for the wits of Rome to descant upon. Though the words are ill chose, and strangly harsh, yet it is certain the fathers had a good meaning in them; and they refer to King James's influence upon his brother to turn Roman Catholic at his death. The inscription runs thus:—

Jacobo Secundo Angliæ Regi
Quod ipso Vitæ Exemplo preunte,
Et impellente Consiliis,
Carolus Frater & Rex
Mortem obierat admodum piam:
Regna-

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Regnaturus à tergo frater
Alas Carolo addidit;
ET
Ut Cœlo dignum
ET
Dignum se Rege Legatum, eligeret,
Fratrem Misit.

To King James II. King of England; for having by his Example and his Counsel prevailed with Charles his Brother to die a pious death.

And being to succeed him,

He gave wings to Charles; and that he might make choice of an Ambassador worthy of Heaven and himself, he sent his Brother.

I will not pretend to give the nice sense of these words; and though I would, I cannot, there being such a perplexity in them. But for the expressions that follow, I may venture to give them in English, though they seem to be as much out of the ordinary road as the former.

Nuncii ex Angliâ Proceres
Retulerunt Regibus aliis Jacobum
Regnantem.
Cœlo
Primus omnium retulit Carolus.
Nec Immerito;
Reges alii Legatos suscipiunt

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Mittuntque Principes,
Legatos Reges Deum Excipere decuit;
Jacobum mittere.

English Noblemen were sent to other Kings, to acquaint them with King James's Accession to the Crown: but Charles first of all brought the News of it to Heaven.

It was but reasonable
For Kings to send and receive Princes as Ambassadors:
But,
It became God Almighty to receive, and James to send, no Ambassadors but Kings.

The mortifications K. James met with at Rome, about his marriage with the Princess of Este.

To see King James neglected at Rome in the Pontificat of Innocent XI. was not so strange, considering what has been said of his antipathy to a faction wherein that Prince was concerned: but that in the time of Innocent's predecessor, and when he was Duke of York, he should be denied a common favor, which that court seldom or never refuses to any one, was a thing altogether unaccountable: yet so it was, that he having sent the late Earl of Peterborough to Italy, to espouse the Princess of Modena in his name, all the interest he could make was not able to obtain a Dispensation for the Marriage. The account of

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of this matter being so little known, and that Earl's book wherein he mentions it, being so rare, and as I am told, but twenty-four copies printed, I shall give it in the Earl's own words:

" But now from Rome there was advice " (says he) by the Abbot of Angeo, of the " great difficulties that arose in the consul- " tations of this affair (meaning the mar- " riage). The French Ambassador, the " Duke d'Estrees, favoured the marriage " with all the power of the French fac- " tion; so did Cardinal Barberini, and all " the other friends and allies of the House " of Este. But his Holiness himself was " very averse, and Cardinal Altieri, who " was the Governing Nephew, a professed " and violent opposer. The main pre- " tence for this obstinacy, was the Duke " of York's not declaring himself publicly " of the Romish Church, though they " knew that he was of a long time recon- " ciled to it.

Genealogies of the Family of Mordant, &c. in a large Fol. p. 427, 428.

" But now at last (continues the Earl of " Peterborough) came from Rome the " Abbot of Angeo without the Dispensa- " tion, which he could by no means obtain, " by reason that Cardinal Altieri was in- " flexible, and threats of excommunication " were issued out against any that should " undertake to perform or celebrate the " marriage. Whereupon we were all upon " the fears and expectations of a total " rupture.

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"rupture. The Dutchess of Modena her-
"self, a zealous, if not a bigot woman, was
"in great pain about the part that might
"seem offensive to his Holiness, or neglec-
"tive of his anthority: and the young
"Princess took occasion from hence to
"support her unwillingness. But in truth,
"Cardinal Barberini, upon whom the
"Dutchess had great dependance, and all
"the other adherents and relations of the
"House of Estê, being every day more
"and more possessed of the honor and in-
"terest they were like to find in this alli-
"ance, were scandalised at the unreasona-
"ble obstinacy of the Pope and his
"Nephew, and did frankly advise the
"Dutchess of Modena suddenly to make
"up and perfect the marriage: the peace
"and excuse of the thing being easier to
"be had after it was done, than any pre-
"sent licence to be obtained for doing
"it.

"The Bishop of Modena was then ap-
"plied to (adds the Earl) for the perform-
"ance: but he refusing, a poor English
"Jacobin was found, brother to Jerome
"White, that after served the Dutchess,
"who having nothing to lose, and on whom
"the terror of Excommunication did not
"so much prevail, did undertake it, and
"so he performed the ceremony." Thus far the Earl of Peterborough.

But to leave this digression, and to return

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turn to our history. It was about this time that the Romish Cabal about King James began to play their popular engine, and which was likely to do most execution, by weakening the National Established Church, and dividing Protestants among themselves, when in the mean time the Roman Catholics were to be the only gainers. This was disguised under the specious names of Liberty of Conscience. And the very same party that advised this Toleration, were they that had pushed on all the severities against the Protestant Dissenters in the former Reign, with design to widen the breach between them and the Church of England, and to render the first more willing to swallow the bait of toleration, whenever it should be offered to them. They gained in a great part their end; for the Dissenters were not so fond of persecution and ill usage, as to refuse a liberty that was frankly offered them, which neither their prayers nor tears could obtain before: nor did they think it good manners to enquire too narrowly how that liberty came about, as long as they were sheltered thereby from the oppressions they lay under.

The true design of the Persecution of Dissenters in King Charles's time.

The Church of England saw through all this contrivance, and feared the consequences. The Protestant Dissenters were more pitied now in their seeming prosperity, than ever they had been in their real adversity.

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adversity. Some that had been zealous before in putting the Penal Laws in execution against them, did now see their error too late, and found they had been used but as tools to prevent the Dissenters from uniting with the Church of England, whenever the common danger should come to threaten both.

K. James grants a Toleration of Religion.

This Toleration could not subsist, being contrary to the established laws of the realm, unless a new *Monster* was introduced to give it life, under the name of a *Dispensing Power*. When King James came to assume to himself this power as his Prerogative and Right, he unhinged the Constitution all at once; for to dispense with laws already made, is as much a part of the Legislature, as the making of new ones. And therefore in arrogating to himself such a Dispensing Power, he invaded the very essence of the English Constitution, by which "the Legislature is lodged "in King, Lords, and Commons; and "every one of them has a Negative upon "the other two."

Charles II. was the first King of England that ever aimed at any thing like a Dispensing Power. In the year 1662, he was prevailed upon for some reasons of State to issue out a Proclamation, dispensing with some few things that related to the Act of Uniformity, but without the least regard to Roman Catholics. And though

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though in his Speech to the Parliament upon that occasion, he did in a manner acknowledge that he had no such power in saying, "That if the Dissenters would "demean themselves peaceably and mo- "destly, he could heartily wish he had "such a Power of Indulgence to use upon "occasion." Yet the Parliament was so jealous of this innovation, that they presented the King with an Address against the Proclamation; and plainly told him, "That he had no Power to dispense with "the Laws without an Act of Parlia- "ment."

King Charles made another attempt of the like nature, in the year 1672; and in a Speech to Both Houses, did mention his Declaration of Indulgence, and acquainted them with the reasons that induced him to it; telling them withal, how little the Roman Catholics would be the better for it. Upon which the House of Commons made an Address to him for recalling this Declaration: wherein they plainly told him, "That in claiming a Power to "dispense with Penal Laws, his Majesty "had been very much misinformed; since "no such Power was ever claimed or "exercised by any of his Predecessors; and "if it should be admitted, might tend to "the interrupting of the free course of the "Laws, and altering the Legislative Power, "which has always been acknowledged to "reside

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"reside in his Majesty, and his Two "Houses of Parliament." King Charles was so far satisfied in the matter contained in this Address, that he immediately thereupon cancelled his Declaration of Indulgence, and ordered the Seal to be torn off; and acquainted both Houses, That he had done so; with this further Declaration, which was entered upon record in the House of Lords, "That it should never be "drawn into example or consequence."

The next that attempted such a Dispensing Power, though of a far larger extent, was King James, as has been said: and how any thing that looked that way was relished by the House of Commons, does appear by their Address against the Roman Catholic Officers; which also has been mentioned.

And assuming a dispensing Power.

It was not enough for King James to assume this Dispensing Power, and to act by it; but such was the misery and hard fate of England, that the Party about the King would have had us believe, "That a Power in the King to dispense "with Laws, was law." To maintain this monstrous position, there were not only mercenary pens set at work, but a set of Judges found out, that to their eternal reproach, did all was possible for them to compliment the King with the Liberties of their country. For these gentlemen gave it for law,

That

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That the Kings of England are Sovereign Princes.

That the Laws of England are the King's Laws.

That therefore it is an incident inseparable Prerogative in the Kings of England, as in all other Sovereign Princes, to dispense with Penal Laws, in particular Cases, and upon particular necessary Reasons.

That of those Reasons and those Necessities the King himself is the sole Judge.

And then, which is consequent upon all,

That this is not a Trust invested in, or granted to the King by the People, but is the Ancient Remain of the Sovereign Power and Prerogative of the Kings of England, which never yet was taken from them, nor can be.

Thus were we fallen under the greatest misfortune that could possibly happen to a nation, "To have our Laws and Con-"stitution trampled upon under colour of "Law." And those very men, whose office it was to support them, became now the betrayers of them to the will of the Prince.

This mighty point being gained, or rather forced upon us, the Roman Catholics were not wanting to make the best use of it for themselves. The free and open

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Exercise of their Religion was set up every where, and *Jesuit* Schools and Seminaries erected in the most considerable towns. The Church of England had now but a precarious title to the National Church, and Romish Candidates had swallowed up its Preferments and Dignities already in their hopes. Romish Bishops were publicy Consecrated in the Royal Chapel, and despatched down to exercise their Episcopal function in their respective dioceses. Their Pastoral Letters, directed to the Lay Catholics of England, were openly dispersed up and down, and printed by the King's own Printer, with Public License. The Regular Clergy appeared in their Habits in Whitehall and St. James's; and made no scruple to tell the Protestants, "They hoped in a little time to walk in "Procession through Cheapside."

A mighty harvest of New Converts was expected; and that labourers might not be wanting, shoals of Priests and Regulars were sent over from beyond sea to reap it. The only step to preferment was to be of the King's Religion: and to preach against the Errors of Rome, was the heighth of disloyalty, because, forsooth, it tended to alienate the subject's affections from the King. An Order was directed to the Protestant Bishops about *Preaching*, which was, upon the matter, forbidding them to defend their religion in the pulpit, when it was

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was at the same time attacked by the Romish Priests with all the vigour they were capable of, both in their Sermons and Books. This Order was taken from a precedent in Queen Mary's time; for the first step she made to introduce Popery, notwithstanding her promises to the Gentlemen of Suffolk and Norfolk to the contrary, upon their appearing first of any for her interest, upon the death of her brother, was to issue out a Proclamation, forbidding the preaching upon controverted points of Religion, for fear, it was said, of raising animosities among the people. But notwithstanding this insnaring letter of King James, the Clergy of the Church of England were not wanting in their duty: for to their immortal honor, they did more to vindicate the doctrine of their own Church, and expose the errors of the Church of Rome both in their sermons and writings, than ever had been done either at home or abroad, since the Reformation; and in such a stile, and with such an inimitable force of reasoning, as will be a standard of writing to succeeding ages.

To hasten on the project against the Established Church, a new Court of Inquisition was erected, under the name of a *Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs*: and to blind the People, there were some Bishops of the Church of England named

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Commissioners, whereof one refused to act from the beginning, and the other excused himself, after he came to see where the design of it was levelled. This Commission was another manifest violation of the laws, and against an express Act of Parliament: and as if that had not been enough to mortify the Church of England, there were some Roman Catholics appointed Commissioners, and consequently the enemies of the Protestant Religion were become the judges and directors of a Protestant Church in its Doctrine and discipline.

The suspension of the Bishop of London.

These Commissioners thought fit to begin the exercise of their new power with the Suspension of Dr. Compton, Bishop of London. This Noble Prelate, by a conduct worthy of his birth, and station in the church, had acquired the love and esteem of all the Protestant Churches at home and abroad, and was for that reason the mark of the envy and hatred of the Romish Party at Court. They had waited for an occasion to ennoble their Ecclesiastical Commission with such an illustrious sacrifice; and such an occasion was rather taken than given, in the business of Dr. Sharp, now Archbishop of York.

The occasion of it.

The Priests about the King knowing how much it was their interest that the Protestant Clergy should not have leave to refute

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refute the Errors of the Church of Rome in their sermons, had advised him to send to the Bishops the ensnaring Letter or Order before mentioned, containing *Directions about Preachers.* The learned Dr. Sharp taking occasion in some of his sermons to vindicate the doctrine of the Church of England, in opposition to Popery; this was in the Court dialect understood to be the "endeavouring to beget "in the minds of his hearers an ill opinion "of the King and his Government; by "insinuating fears and jealousies, to dis-"pose them to discontent, and to lead "them into disobedience and rebellion;" and consequently, a contempt of the said Order about Preachers. Whereupon King James sent a Letter to the Bishop of London, containing an Order to suspend Dr. Sharp from preaching in any parish church or chapel in his diocese, until the doctor had given satisfaction, and his Majesty's further pleasure should be known.

The Bishop of London perceiving what was aimed at in this letter, endeavoured all that was possible to divert the storm that threatened him, and the Church of England through his sides. He wrote a submissive letter to the Secretary of State, to be communicated to the King; setting forth, "That he thought it his duty to "obey his Majesty in whatever commands

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" he laid upon him, that he could perform " with a safe conscience: but in this he " was obliged to proceed according to " Law, and as a Judge: and by the Law " no Judge condemns a man, before he has " knowledge of the cause, and has cited " the party. That, however, he had ac- " quainted Dr. Sharp with his Majesty's " displeasure; whom he found so ready " to give all reasonable satisfaction, that " he had made him the bearer of that " letter."

Together with this letter from the Bishop of London, Dr. Sharp carried with him a Petition to the King in his own name, shewing, " That ever since his Majesty " was pleased to give notice of his dis- " pleasure against him, he had forborn the " public exercise of his function: and as " he had endeavoured to do the best " service he could to his Majesty and his " late Brother in his station, so he had not " vented now in the pulpit any thing tend- " ing to faction or schism: and therefore " prayed his Majesty would be pleased to " lay aside his displeasure conceived against " him, and restore him to that favor which " the rest of the Clergy enjoyed."

All this submission was to no purpose. Nothing would satisfy the Party, but a revenge upon the Bishop of London, for his exemplary zeal for the Protestant interest; and this affair of Dr. Sharp's was made

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made use of as a handle to mortify him, and in his person the whole body of the Clergy. The Bishop was cited before the Ecclesiastical Commission, for not suspending Dr. Sharp, according to the King's Order, and treated by their chairman at his appearance in a manner unworthy of his station and quality. All the defence he could make, and his plea to the jurisdiction and legality of the Court, which was good beyond all contradiction, did signify nothing. These new Inquisitors being resolved to stick at nothing that might please the Party that set them at work, did by their definitive "sentence declare, decree, "and pronounce, That the Bishop of "London should for his Disobedience and "Contempt be suspended during his Ma-"jesty's Pleasure: and accordingly was "suspended; with a peremptory Admo-"nition, To abstain from the Function "and Execution of his Episcopal office, "and other Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions, "during the said Suspension, under the "pain of Deprivation and Removal from "his Bishopric."

The Proceedings against the President and Fellows of Magdalen Colledge.

The next that felt the weight of this Ecclesiastical Commission, were the President and Fellows of St. Mary Magdalen's Colledge in Oxford. The two chief seats of Learning, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, stood in the way of the Grand Design; and the Party was impa-

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tient to get footing there. Magdalen College is one of the noblest foundations that perhaps was ever erected to learning in the world, and therefore it was no wonder it was one of the first marks that was shot at. This illustrious Society, from repeated Grants of Kings, ratified in Parliament, and from their own Statutes, was in an uninterrupted possession of a right to elect their own President. That place being vacant by the death of Dr. Clark, a day was appointed by the Vice-President and Fellows to proceed to the election of another to fill up the vacancy. But before the day of election came, Charnock, one of the fellows (who was since executed for the late plot to assassinate his present Majesty) brought them a Mandate from King James, to elect one Farmer into the place; a man of an ill reputation, who had promised to declare himself Roman Catholic, and was altogether incapable of the office by the Statutes of the College. This Mandate the Vice-President and Fellows received with all decent respect, and sent their humble Address to the King, representing to his Majesty, "That "Farmer was a person in several respects "incapable of that office, according to "their Founder's Statutes: and therefore "did earnestly beseech his Majesty, either "to leave them to the discharge of their "duty and consciences, according to his "Majesty's

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"Majesty's late gracious Declaration, and "their Founder's Statutes; or else to re- "commend to them such a person who "might be more serviceable to his Majesty "and the College."

Notwithstanding this humble and submissive Address, King James signified his pleasure to them, "That he expected to "be obeyed." Upon which, the Fellows being obliged by the Statutes of their Society, to which they were sworn, not to delay the Election longer than such a day, and Farmer being a person they could not choose, without incurring the sin of *Perjury*, they proceeded to Election, and chose Dr. Hough (now Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry) their President.

Hereupon the New President and Fellows were cited before the Ecclesiastical Commission, for disobeying the King's Mandate. And notwithstanding they made it appear by their Answer, placed at length in the Appendix, "That they could not "comply with that Mandate, without "breach of their oath; and that there was "no room left for the King to dispense "with that oath, because in the oath itself "they were sworn not to make use of any "such Dispensation, nor in any sort con- "sent thereto: yet against all law, the "Ecclesiastical Commissioners did by their "sentence deprive Dr. Hough of his Pre- "sidentship, and suspended two of the "Fellows

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"Fellows from their Fellowships:" while the King at the same time inhibited the College to elect or admit any person whatsoever into any Fellowship, or any other place or office in the said College, till his further pleasure.

The Court finding by this time, that Farmer was one of so profligate a life, that though he had promised to declare himself Roman Catholic upon his promotion to that place, they began to be ashamed of him: and therefore instead of insisting on the former Mandamus in his favour, there was another granted in favour of Dr. Parker, then Bishop of Oxford, one of the creatures of the Court, and who they knew would stick at nothing to serve a turn.

The place of President being already in a legal manner filled up by the election of Dr. Hough; which though it had not been, yet the Bishop of Oxford was likewise incapable by Statutes of the College, of being elected; the Fellows did humbly offer a very pathetic Petition to his Majesty, mentioned at length in the Appendix; in which they set forth, "how inexpressible "an affliction it was to them to find themselves reduced to such an extremity, that "either they must disobey his Majesty's "Commands, contrary to their inclinations, "and that constant course of loyalty which "they had ever shewed hitherto upon all "occasions; or else break their Founder's "Statutes

Appendix, No. XX.

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"Statutes, and deliberately perjure them-
"selves." Then they mentioned the Statutes and the Oaths that every one of them had taken at their admission into their Fellowships; and concluded with an humble prayer to his Majesty, "To give them "leave to lay their case and themselves at "his Majesty's Royal feet, earnestly be-"seeching his Sacred Majesty to extend "to them, his humble Petitioners, that "grace and tenderness which he had "vouchsafed to all his other subjects."

All this submission was in vain: for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, by their final Decree and Sentence, deprived and expelled from their Fellowships all the Fellows of Magdalen College, but Three that had complied with breach of oath, being Twenty-five in number. And to push their injustice yet further, they did by another Sentence decree and declare, "That Dr. "Hough, who had been deprived before, "and the said Twenty-five Fellows, should "be incapable of receiving, or being ad-"mitted into any Ecclesiastical Dignity, "Benefice, or Promotion. And such of "them who were not yet in Holy Orders, "they adjudged incapable of receiving or "being admitted into the same." Thus by a Decree of an illegal Court, were a set of worthy and learned men turned out of their Freeholds, merely for not obeying an arbitrary command, which was directly against

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against their consciences: and thus was King James prevailed with by a headstrong party, to assume a power not only to dispense with Laws, but to make void Oaths.

The Second Declaration for Liberty of Conscience.

The first Declaration for Liberty of Conscience was not thought a sufficient stretch of power; and therefore King James issued out another of a much higher strain, in which the Roman Catholics were chiefly included, and indeed it was for their sake alone it was granted. To render the Church of England accessary to their own ruin, there was an Order of Council made upon the latter, "commanding it to be read at "the usual times of Divine Service, in all "Churches and Chapels throughout the "Kingdom; and ordering the Bishops to "cause it to be sent and distributed through-"out their several and respective Dioceses, "to be read accordingly."

The Order of Council upon it.

The Clergy of the Church of England had reason to take it for the greatest hardship and oppression that could be put upon them, to be commanded to read from their pulpits a Declaration they knew to be against Law, and which in its nature and design was levelled against their own interest, and that of their Religion. Some of them through *fear* or *mistake*, and others *to make their court*, complied; but the generality refused to obey so unjust a command. The Romish Party had their ends in it, for their refusal laid them open to the severe

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severe lashes of the Ecclesiastical Commission; and accordingly, every one that had not read the Declaration in their Churches, were ordered to be prosecuted before that inexorable tribunal, where they were infallibly to expect to be deprived: and so most of the Benefices in England must have been made vacant for a new kind of Incumbents.

But the scene changed before all this could be brought about: for King James, urged on by his fate, and by a restless Party about him, came at this time to level a blow against the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Six of his Suffragan Bishops, that awakened the People of England to shake off their chains, and implore foreign assistance to retrieve the dying Liberties of their country.

The Affair of the Seven Bishops.

These *Seven Bishops* being sensible, as most of the nation was, of what was originally aimed at in these two Declarations for Liberty of Conscience, did consult together about the humblest manner to lay before King James the Reasons why they could not comply with the Order of Council. Having got leave to attend him, they delivered to him with the greatest submission a Petition in behalf of themselves, and their absent brethren, and in the name of the Clergy of their respective Dioceses, humbly representing, "That "their unwillingness did not proceed from "any want of duty and obedience to his "Majesty

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"Majesty, nor from any want of due ten-
"derness to Dissenters; in relation to
"whom, they were willing to come to such
"a temper as should be thought fit, when
"that matter should be considered in Par-
"liament and Convocation: but, among a
"great many other considerations, from
"this especially, because that Declaration
"was founded upon such a Dispensing
"Power as had been often declared illegal
"in Parliament; and was a matter of so
"great moment and consequence to the
"whole Nation, that they could not in
"prudence, honor, or conscience, so far
"make themselves parties to it, as the
"distribution of it all over the kingdom,
"and the solemn publication of it even in
"God's House, and in the time of his
"Divine Service, must amount to, in
"common and reasonable construction."
Therefore did humbly and earnestly be-seech his Majecty, That he would be graciously pleased, "not to insist upon "their distributing and reading the said "Declaration."

This Petition, though the humblest that could be, and delivered by Six of them to the King alone in his closet, was so highly resented, that the Six Bishops that presented it, and the Archbishop of Canterbury that wrote it, but was not present at its delivery, were committed prisoners to the Tower.

They

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They were a few days after brought to the King's Bench Bar, and indicted of a High Misdemeanor, for having "falsely, "unlawfully, maliciously, seditiously, and "scandalously framed, composed, and "wrote a false, malicious, pernicious, and "seditious Libel, concerning the King and "his Royal Declaration for Liberty of "Conscience, under the pretence of a "Petition: and that they had published "the same in presence of the King." There was a great appearance at this trial; and it was a leading case: for upon it depended in a great measure the fate of the rest of the Clergy of the Church of England. It lasted long, and in the end the Seven Bishops were Acquitted, with the acclamations of all but the Court Party.

There were two things very remarkable in this trial: the Dispensing Power was learnedly and boldly argued against by the Counsel for the Bishops, and demonstrated by invincible arguments to be an open violation of the Laws and Constitution of the Kingdom. So that in one of the greatest auditories that was ever seen in Westminster Hall, and upon hearing one of the most solemn causes that was ever tried at the King's Bench bar, King James had the mortification to see his *new assumed Prerogative* baffled, and its illegality exposed to the world. The other thing observable

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serveable upon this trial was, that the tables were so far turned, that some that had largely contributed to the enslaving their country with false notions of Law, were now of another opinion: while at the same time, others that had stood up for the liberty of their country in two successive Parliaments, and had suffered upon that account, did now as much endeavour to stretch the Prerogative beyond its just limits as they had opposed it before: "So "hard it is for mankind to be in all times, "and upon all turns, constant to themselves."

The news of the Bishops being acquitted, was received with the highest expressions of joy throughout the whole kingdom: nor could the King's own presence prevent his *Army*, that was then encamped at Hounslow Heath, from mixing their loud acclamation with the rest. This last mortification might have prevented his fate, if his ears had been open to any but a hot party, that were positively resolved to push *for all*, cost what it would: and it was easily seen by the soldiers' behaviour upon this occasion, "how impossible it is to "debauch an English Army from their "love to their Country and their Reli-"gion."

While the Bishops were in the Tower, the Roman Catholics had their hopes crowned

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crowned with the birth of a pretended *Prince of Wales*. The fears of a *Protestant Successor* had been the only allay that rendered their prosperity less perfect: now the happiness of having an Heir to the Crown to be bred up in their own Religion, quashed all those fears, and atoned for the uncertainty of the King's life. It was so much their interest to have one, and there was so many circumstances that seemed to render his birth suspicious, that the nation in general were inclinable to believe that this was the last effort of the Party to accomplish our ruin.

The Birth of a pretended Prince of Wales.

All things seemed now to conspire towards it. There was only a Parliament wanting, to ratify and approve all the illegal steps that had been made; which was to be done effectually *by taking off the Penal Laws and Test*, the two chief barriers of our Religion. To obtain such a Parliament, no stone was left unturned, and no threats nor promises neglected. Regulators were sent down to every Corporation, to model them to this end; though a great part of their work had been done to their hand; for in most of the new Charters there had been such Regulations made, and such sort of men put in, as was thought would make all sure.

A new Parliament designed, and to what end.

But to be yet surer, and to try the inclinations of people, *Closetting* came into fashion, and King James was at pains to

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sound every man's mind, how far he might depend upon him for his concurrence with those designs: if they did not readily promise to serve the King *in his own way*, which was the distinguishing word at that time, there was some brand put upon them, and they were turned out of place if they had any. Nor did King James think it below his dignity, after the Priests had failed to bring in new converts, to try himself how far his own arguments might prevail; and he closetted men for that purpose too. Some few of no principles, and a great many others of desperate fortunes, complimented him with their religion, and were generally thereupon put into employments: and so fond was the King of making Proselites at any rate, that there were of the scum of the people that pretended to turn Papists merely for the sake of a weekly small allowance, which was regularly paid them.

It is a question after all, whether the Parliament which King James was thus labouring to model, would have answered his expectation, had they come to sit; for men's eyes were opened more and more every day; and the noble Principles of English Liberty began to kindle afresh in the nation, notwithstanding all the endeavours that had been used of a long time to extinguish them. Though the Dissenters, who might be chosen into Parliament upon this

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this new model, would probably have made terms for themselves, to prevent their falling under any future persecution; yet being as averse to Popery as any others whatsoever, it is not to be imagined that they would upon that consideration have unhindged the Constitution of England, to enable the Roman Catholics to break in upon the Established National Church, which in the end must have inevitably ruined both it and themselves.

But there fell out a little before this time an accident that helped mightily to buoy up the sinking spirits of the nation, and which was occasioned by the forward zeal of some about the King, contrary to their intentions. While the project was going on to take off the Penal Laws and Test, and the Protestants were in amaze what to expect, the good genius of England, and King James's ill fate, set him on to make a trial of the inclinations of the Prince and Princess of Orange, in that manner. The Prince and Princess had looked on with a silent regret upon all the unlucky steps that were making in England, and were unwilling to publish their Opinion of them, since they knew it could not but be displeasing to King James. To know their Highness's mind in the business of the Penal Laws and Test, was a thing the most desired by the Protestants; but there was no possible way to come to

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this knowledge, if King James himself had not helped them to it.

The Prince and Princess of Orange's Opinion about the Penal Laws and Test, declared in Pensionary Fagel's Letter.

Mr. Stuart, since Sir James Stuart, had been pardoned by King James, and received into favor, after a long banishment: he had been acquainted in Holland with the late Pensionary Fagel, and persuaded himself of a more than ordinary friendship with that wise minister. The King foresaw it was his interest to find out, some one way or other, the Prince and Princess's thoughts of these matters; which, if they agreed with his own, were to be made public; if otherwise, were to be concealed: and Mr. Stuart took that task upon himself. Pensionary Fagel was in a great post in Holland, and in a near intimacy with the Prince; one that was entirely trusted by him, and ever firm to his interest. To know the Pensionary's opinion was thought to be the same with knowing the Prince's, since it was to be supposed that he would not venture to write of any thing that concerned England, especially such a nice point as was then in question, without the Prince's approbation at least, if not his positive direction.

Upon these considerations, and upon a mistake that Mr. Stuart was in, about the Constitution of Holland, as if the Roman Catholics were not there excluded from employments and places of trust, he wrote a letter to Pensionary Fagel. It is needless

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less to give any account of the letter itself, since Fagel's answer, together with what has been already said, do give a sufficient hint of the design and scope of it.

So averse were the Prince and Princess of Orange to meddle, and so unwilling to allow Pensionary Fagel to return to this letter an answer which they knew would not be pleasing, that Mr. Stuart wrote by the King's direction five or six more before it was thought fit to answer them. But at length their Highnesses were in a manner forced to it; by the reports that were industriously spread abroad in England by the emissaries of the court, as if the Pensionary, in an answer to Mr. Stuart, had acquainted him, that the Prince and Princess agreed with the King in the design of taking off the Penal Laws and Test. This was not all; for the Marquess de Albeville, the English Envoy at the Hague, was put upon writing over to several persons, that the Prince of Orange, had told him the very same thing; which Letter of Albeville's was likewise made public. Such reports were enough to shake the constancy of all those that designed to stand firm to the interests of the Established Church in the ensuing Parliament, and to make them give all up for lost.

The Prince and Princess of Orange, to do themselves justice, and to disabuse a

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nation they had so near an interest in, directed Pensionary Fagel to write one Answer to all Mr. Stuart's letters, to this purpose: "That being desired by Mr. "Stuart to let him know the Prince "and Princess of Orange's Thoughts con- "cerning the Repeal of the Penal Laws, "and more particularly concerning the "Test, he told him, that he would write "without reserve, since Mr. Stuart had "said in his Letters, that they were wrote "by the King's knowledge and allowance. "That it was the Prince and Princess's "Opinion, That no Christian ought to be "persecuted for his conscience, or be ill "used because he differs from the Public "and Established Religion: and, there- "fore, that they can consent, That the "Papists in England, Scotland, and Ire- "land, be suffered to continue in their "Religion, with as much Liberty as is "allowed them by the States of Holland; "in which it cannot be denied but they "enjoy a full Liberty of Conscience. And "as to the Dissenters, their Highnesses "did not only consent, but did heartily "approve of their having an entire Liberty "for the full Exercise of their Religion; "and that their Highnesses were ready to "concur to the settling and confirming "this Liberty, and protect and defend it, "and likewise confirm it with their Guar- "rantee, which Mr. Stuart had mentioned.

"And

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"And if his Majesty (continues the "Pensionary) desires their Concurrence in "Repealing the Penal Laws, their Highnesses were ready to give it, provided "these Laws remain still in their full "force, by which the *Roman Catholics* are "shut out of both Houses of Parliament, "and out of all public employments, "Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Military; as "likewise those other Laws which confirm "the Protestant Religion, and which secure "it against all the attempts of the Roman "Catholics. But their Highnesses cannot "agree to the Repeal of the Test, and "those other Penal Laws last mentioned, "that tend to the security of the Protestant Religion; since the Roman Catholics receive no other prejudices from "these, than the being excluded from Parliament, and Public Employments.

"More than this (adds Pensionary Fagel) "their Highnesses do think ought not "be asked or expected; and they wondered how any that professed themselves "Christians, and that may enjoy their "Religion freely and without disturbance, "can judge it lawful for them to disturb "the quiet of any Kingdom or State, or "overturn Constitutions, that so they "themselves may be admitted to employments, and that these Laws in which the "security and quiet of the Established "Religion consists, should be shaken.

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"And as to what Mr. Stuart had written, "That the Roman Catholics in Holland "were not shut out from employments "and places of trust, he tells him, He was "grossly mistaken." The Pensionary concludes, "That their Highnesses could not "concur with his Majesty in these matters; "for they believed they should have much "to answer to God for, if the considera- "tion of any present advantage should "carry them to consent to things which "they believe would not only be danger- "ous, but mischievous to the Protestant "Religion."

Thus far Pensionary Fagel. And I would not have dwelt so long upon this Letter of his, if it were not for the noble scheme of a just Liberty in matters of Conscience that is therein contained. Notwithstanding, it was still given out at Court, and that even after it came to Mr. Stuart's hands, That he had written the quite contrary; though it is but charity to suppose that Mr. Stuart was a man of more honour than to contribute to the report. At last there was a necessity of making public the Pensionary's Letter in several languages, which had wonderful influence upon the minds of the Protestants of England, and was highly resented by King James.

However, King James had more than one method in his view, how to accomplish

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plish his design; for what a Parliament it may be would not do, he was resolved that an Army should; and therefore care was taken to model his troops as much to that end, as the shortness of time would allow.

Ireland was the inexhaustible source whence England was to be furnished with a Romish Army; and an Irish Roman-Catholic was the most welcome guest at Whitehall. They came over in shoals to take possession of the promised land; and had already swallowed up in their hopes the best estates of the Heretics in England. Over and above complete regiments of them, there was scarce a troop or company wherein some of them were not placed by express order from Court. Several Protestants that had served well and long, were turned out to make room for them; and seven considerable officers were cashiered in one day, merely for refusing to admit them. The chief Forts, and particularly Portsmouth and Hull, the two Keys of England, were put into Popish hands, and the Garrisons so modelled, that the majority were papists.

The Modelling of the Army.

To over-awe the Nation, and to make slavery familiar, this Army was encamped yearly near London; where the only public *Chapel* in the Camp was appointed for the service of the Romish Church, and strict orders given out, that the soldiers of that

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that Religion should not fail every Sunday and holiday to repair thither to *Mass*.

The Methods used in Ireland.

As Ireland was remarkable for having furnished King James with Romish troops sent into England, so was it much more for the bare-faced and open invasions that were made there, upon the Liberties and Rights of the Protestants. That kingdom was the most proper field to ripen their projects in, considering that the Protestants were much out-numbered by the Papists, and had been for some ages the constant object of their rancour and envy, which had been more than once expressed in letters of blood.

Tyrconnel made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

King James recalled the Earl of Clarendon from the government of Ireland, soon after he was sent thither, and appointed the Earl of Tyrconnel, to succeed him, who was a gentleman that had signalized himself for his bigotry to the Church of Rome, and his hatred to the Protestants. The Roman Catholic Clergy had recommended him to King James for that post, in a letter mentioned at length in the Appendix, "As one that did first espouse, "and chiefly maintain the Cause of the "Catholic Clergy, against their many and "powerful enemies, for the last five and "twenty years; and was then the only "person under whose fortitude and popu-"larity in that kingdom, they durst with "cheerfulness and assurance own their "Loyalty

Appendix, No. XXI.

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"Loyalty, and assert his Majesty's in-
"terest." Making it therefore their hum-
ble request, "That his Majesty would be
"pleased to lodge his authority in his
"hands, to the terror of the factious,
"and encouragement of his Majesty's
"faithful subjects in Ireland; promis-
"ing to receive him with such accla-
"mations as the long-captived Jews did
"their Redeemer Mordecai." Which let-
ter shewed they were no less mistaken in
their History of the Bible, than in their
advice to the King; for it does not appear
by the story of Mordecai in the Scripture,
that he was ever sent to the Jews, or re-
moved from the City of Susa, after he came
into favour with Ahasuerus.

However, Tyrconnel fully answered the
hopes and expectations of the Papists,
and the fears of the Protestants of Ireland;
for by the Ministry of this rigid man was
the ruin of the Protestant English interest
in that kingdom in a great measure com-
pleted.

At King James's Accession to the
Crown, the Army of Ireland consisted of
above Seven Thousand men, all Protes-
tants, and zealous to the service: these
were in a little time all turned out, and the
whole Army made up of Papists, most of
them the sons or descendants, or near
relations of those that were attainted for
the Rebellion in 1641; or others that had
distin-

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distinguished themselves since that time, by their notorious villanies, and implacable hatred to the English and Protestant Interest.

The Manner of filling up the Benches in Ireland.

Though in King Charles's time, by the influence of the Duke of York, there had been grounds of complaint against some of the Judges in Ireland, upon the account of their partiality to the Papists, yet when King James came to the Crown these very Judges were not thought fit enough for the work that was designed. It was judged necessary to employ the most zealous of the Party, those that from interest and inclination were the most deeply engaged to destroy the Protestant Interest; and accordingly such were picked out to sit in every Court of Justice.

The custody of the King's Conscience and Great Seal was given to Sir Alexander Fitton, a person convicted of forgery, not only at Westminster-Hall, and at Chester, but fined for it by the Lords in Parliament. This man was taken out of gaol, to discharge the trust of Lord High Chancellor, and had no other qualities to recommend him beside his being a convert to the Romish Church, and a Renegado to his Religion and Country. To him were added as Masters of Chancery, one Stafford, a Popish Priest, and O'Neal, the son of one of the most notorious murderers in the massacre, 1641.

In

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In the King's-Bench care was taken to place one Nugent, whose father had lost his honor and estate, for being a principal actor in the same Rebellion. This man, who had never made any figure at the Bar, was pitched upon to judge whether the Outlawries against his father and fellow-rebels, ought to be reversed; and whether the settlements that were made in Ireland upon these outlawries, ought to stand good.

The next Court is that of Exchequer, from which only, of all the Courts in Ireland, there lies no Appeal, or Writ of Error in England. It was thought fit, that one Rice, a profligate fellow, and noted for nothing but gaming, and a mortal inveteracy against the Protestants, should fill the place of Lord Chief Baron. This man was often heard to say, before he came to be a Judge, "That he would "drive a coach and six horses through the "Act of Settlement." And before that Law was actually repealed in King James's Parliament, he declared upon the Bench, "That it was against Natural Equity, and "did not oblige." It was before him, that all the Charters in the kingdom were damned in the space of a Term or two; so much was he for despatch. A Learned Prelate, from whose book all the things that here relate to that country are taken, does observe, That if this Judge had been left

Dr. King, Bishop of Londonderry, his State of Ireland under K. James.

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left alone, it was believed in a few years he would by some contrivance or other have given away most of the Protestants' Estates in Ireland, without troubling a Parliament to *attaint* them.

In the Court of Common-Pleas it was thought advisable, that a Protestant Chief Justice should continue; yet so, as to pinion him with two of their own sort, that might out-vote him upon occasion.

The Administration of Justice and the Laws being in such hands, it was no wonder that the poor Protestants in Ireland wished rather to have had no Laws at all, and be left to their natural defence, than be cheated into the necessity of submitting to laws that were executed only to punish, and not to protect them. Under such Judges the Roman Catholics had a glorious time; and be their cause never so unjust, they were sure to carry it: when the Lord Chancellor did not stick on all occasions, and sometimes upon the bench, to declare, "That the Protestants "were all rogues, and that among forty "thousand of them, there was not one "that was not a traitor, a rebel, and a "villain."

The Supreme Courts being thus filled up, it was but reasonable all other Courts should keep pace with them. In the year 1687, there was not a Protestant Sheriff in the whole kingdom, except one, and he put

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put in by mistake for another of the same name, that was a Roman Catholic. Some few Protestants were continued in the Commission of the Peace; but they were rendered useless and insignificant, being over-powered in every thing by the great number of Papists joined in Commission with them, and those, for the most part, of the very scum of the people; and a great many, whose fathers had been executed for theft, robbery, or murder.

The Privy Council of Ireland is a great part of the Constitution, and has considerable priviledges and powers annexed to it: this was likewise so modelled, that the Papists made the majority; and those few that were Protestants, chose for the most part to decline appearing at the Board, since they could do those of their Religion no service.

The great Barrier of the People's Liberties both in England and Ireland being their right to chuse their own Representatives in Parliament, which being once taken away, they become slaves to the will of their Prince; the Protestants in Ireland finding a necessity of securing this right in their own hands, had procured many Corporations to be founded, and had built many Corporate towns at their own charges; from all which the Roman Catholics were by their Charters excluded. This Barrier was broken through at one stroke

The Regulating the Corporations in Ireland.

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stroke, by dissolving all the Corporations in the kingdom, upon *Quo Warrantos* brought into the Exchequer-Court, and that without so much as the least shadow of Law. Hereupon New Charters were granted, and filled up chiefly with Papists, and men of desperate or no fortunes: and a clause was inserted in every one of them, which subjected them to the absolute will of the King, by which it was put in the power of the chief Governor to turn out and put in whom he pleased, without shewing a reason, or any formal trial at law.

The Severities against the Protestant Clergy.

The Protestant Clergy felt upon all occasions the weight of Tyrconnel's wrath. The Priests began to declare openly, That the Tythes belonged to them, and forbad their people, under the pain of damnation to pay them to the Protestant Incumbents. This past afterwards into an Act of Parliament, by which not only all Tythes payable by Papists, were given to their own Priests, but likewise a way was found out to make the Popish Clergy capable of enjoying the Protestants' Tythes; which was thus? If a Protestant happened to be possessed of a Bishoprick, a Dignity, or other Living, he might not by this new Act demand any Tythes or Ecclesiastical dues from any Roman Catholic; and as soon as his preferment became void by death, cession, or absence, a Popish Bishop or

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or Clergyman was put into his place. And the Act was so express, that there needed no more to oblige all men to repute and deem a man to be a Roman Catholic Bishop or Dean of any place, but the King's signifying him to be so, under his Privy Signet, or Sign Manual. As soon as any one came to be thus entitled to a Bishopric, Deanery, or Living, immediately all the Tythes, as well of Protestants as Papists, became due to him, with all the Glebes and Ecclesiastical dues.

Against the University of Dublin.

The only great nursery of Learning in Ireland, is the University of Dublin, consisting of a Provost, seven Senior, and nine Junior Fellows, and seventy scholars, who are partly maintained by a yearly salary out of the Exchequer. This salary the Earl. of Tyrconnel stopt, merely for their not admitting into a vacant Fellowship, contrary to their statutes and oaths, a vicious ignorant person, who was a new convert. Nor could he be prevailed with by any intercession or entreaty, to remove the stop; by which in effect he dissolved the Foundation, and shut up the fountain of Learning and Religion. This appeared more plainly afterwards to have been his design; for it was not thought enough, upon King James's arrival, to take away their maintenance, but they were further proceeded against, and the Vice-president, Fellows, and Scholars, all turned out, their

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furniture, library, and communion-plate seized, and every thing that belonged to the College, and to the private Fellows and Scholars, taken away. All this was done, notwithstanding that when they waited upon King James at his first arrival in Dublin, he was pleased to promise them, "That he would preserve them in their "Liberties and Properties, and rather "augment than diminish the Privileges "and Immunities that had been granted "them by his Predecessors." In the house they placed a garrison, and turned the chapel into a magazine, and the chambers into prisons for the Protestants. One More, a Popish Priest, was made Provost, and one Mackarty, also a Priest, was made Library-keeper, and the whole designed for them and their Fraternity.

One Archbishopric, and several Bishoprics, and a great many other Dignities and Livings of the Church, were designedly kept vacant, and the revenues first paid into the Exchequer, and afterwards disposed of to Titular Bishops and Priests, while in the mean time the Cures lay neglected; so that it appeared plainly that the design was to destroy the succession of Protestant Clergymen. At length things came to that height after King James was in Ireland, that most of the Churches in and about Dublin, were seized upon by the Government; and at last Lutterell, Governor

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Governor of Dublin, issued out his Order, mentioned in the Appendix, "Forbidding "more than Five Protestants to meet to- "gether, under pain of death." Being asked whether this was designed to hinder meeting in Churches? He answered, It was designed to hinder their meeting there, as well as in other places. And accordingly all the Churches were shut up, and all Religious Assemblies through the whole kingdom forbidden, under the pain of death. Appendix, No. XXII.

It were endless to enumerate all the miseries that Reverend Author mentions, which the Protestants of Ireland suffered in the Reign of King James: but to give a decisive blow, there was an Act of Attainder past in Parliament, in order to which every Member of the House of Commons returned the names of all such Protestant Gentlemen as lived near them, or in the county or borough for which he served; and if he was a stranger to any of them, he sent to the country for information about them. When this Bill was presented to the King for his Assent, the Speaker of the House of Commons told him; "That many were attainted in "that Act upon such evidence as satisfied "the House, and the rest upon common "fame." The Act of Attainder in Ireland.

In this Act there were no fewer attainted, than Two Archbishops, One Duke, Seven-

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teen Earls, Seven Countesses, Twenty-eight Viscounts, Two Viscountesses, Seven Bishops, Eighteen Barons, Thirty-three Baronets, Fifty-one Knights, Eighty-three Clergymen, Two thousand one hundred eighty-two Esquires and Gentlemen: and all of them unheard, "declared and "adjudged Traitors, convicted and attainted of High Treason, and adjudged "to suffer the pains of Death and forfeiture." The famous Proscription of Rome during the last Triumvirate, came not up in some respects to the horror of this; for there were condemned in this little Kingdom more than double the number that were proscribed through the vast bounds of the Roman Empire. And to make this of Ireland yet the more terrible, and to put the persons attainted out of a possibility of escaping, the Act itself was concealed, and no Protestant allowed a copy of it, till four months after it was past. Whereas in that of Rome, the names of the persons proscribed were affixed upon all the public places of the City, the very day the Proscription was concerted; and thereby opportunity was given to many of the noblest families in Rome, to preserve themselves by a speedy flight, for better times.

There remained but one kingdom more for the Romish Party to act their designs in, and that was *Scotland;* where they reaped

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reaped a full harvest of their hopes, and there were scarce left the least remains of ancient liberty in that nation. Their miseries were summed up in one new-coined word, which was used in all the King's *Declarations*, and served to express to the full their absolute slavery; which was this, "That his subjects were obliged to obey "him without reserve." A word that the Princes of the East, how absolute soever they be, did never yet pretend to in their stile, whatever they might in their actions. But I leave the detail of the encroachments that were made, upon the Laws and Liberties of that kingdom, to others that may be thought more impartial, as having suffered less in their ruins.

The Interests that Foreign Princes and States had in England.

While King James was thus pushed on by a headstrong party, to enslave his subjects, the other Princes and States of Europe looked on with quite different sentiments, according as their own interests and safety moved them. The greater part did commiserate the fate of these Three Kingdoms, and wished for their deliverance. The Protestants saw with regret, that they themselves were within an immediate prospect of losing the most considerable support of their Religion; and both they and the Roman Catholics were equally convinced, that it was their common interest to have England continue in a condition to be the Arbiter of Christendom,

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especially at a time when they saw they most needed it. On the other hand, it was the interest of another Prince, that not only the King of England should be his friend, but the kingdom of England should become inconsiderable abroad, which it could not fail to be when enslaved at home.

King James had been again and again solicited, not only by Protestant Princes but those of his own Religion, to enter into other measures for the common safety of Europe; at least, not to contribute to its ruin, by espousing an interest which they judged was opposite to it. The Emperor, among others, had by his Ambassador made repeated instances to him to this purpose, but with no better success than the rest; as appears by a Letter he wrote to him after his Abdication, which has been printed in several languages, and was conceived in elegant Latin, as all the public despatches of that Court are. But all these Remonstrances had no weight with King James; though they had this good effect in the end, as to put those Princes and States upon such measures as secured to them the friendship of England in another way.

The Emperor's Letter to K. James in Latin, printed at London, 1689.

The Power of France was by this time become the terror and envy of the rest of Europe; and that Crown had upon all sides extended its Conquests. The Empire,

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pire, Spain, and Holland seemed to enjoy a precarious Peace, while the common enemy of the Christian name was making war with the Emperor, and the State of Venice, and was once very near being master of the Imperial Seat, whereby he might have carried the war into the bowels of Germany. The main strength of the Empire being turned against the Turks, and that with various success, there was another war declared against the Emperor by France; so that it came to be absolutely necessary for Spain and Holland to interpose, not as Mediators, for that they were not to hope for, but as Allies and Partners in the War. These last, as well as the other Princes and States that lay nearest the Rhine, were exposed to the mercy of a Prince whom they were not able to resist, if England should look on as neuters, or take part against them; the last of which they had reason to fear.

Thus it happened that the fortune of England, and that of the greatest part of Christendom came to be linked together, and their common liberties must of necessity have undergone one and the same fate. The latter, from a natural principle of self-preservation, were resolved to make their last effort to break the fetters which they saw were ready to be imposed upon them; and the other, animated by the example of their Ancestors, and the Constitution of

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their country, which is diametrically opposite to tyranny, were resolved to venture *all*, to retrieve themselves and their posterity from the chains that were already put upon them.

The interest the Prince of Orange had in England.

Both the one and the other might have struggled in vain to this day with the ruin that threatened them, if heaven, in pity to their condition, had not provided, in the person of the Prince of Orange, the only sanctuary that was left them to shelter their sinking state. This Prince by his mother was a nephew of England, and in right of the Princess his wife, the Presumptive Heir of the Crown. By his father's side he was Heir of an Illustrious Family, that had eternized their name, by delivering their country from slavery, and laying the foundation of a mighty Commonwealth; which has since proved the greatest bulwark of the Protestant Religion, and the chief support of the Liberty of Christendom. A family born for the good of mankind, to be the scourge of Tyrants, and deliverers of the oppressed.

The ill circumstances of the House of Orange at his birth.

The father of this Prince died young, possessed of Hereditary Dignities which he derived from his Ancestors in the States of the United Provinces, which had placed them upon a level with most Princes of Europe, and had given them a figure in the world equal to some Crowned Heads. He had married a Princess of England, the eldest

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eldest daughter of King Charles I. and left her with child of this only son, at a time when the Royal Family of England was not only bereft of their Regal power at home, but forced to seek refuge abroad. The father was scarce dead, and the son yet unborn, when a party in Holland, that always opposed the House of Orange, took hold of that unhappy juncture, to divest the family by a public Decree, of all the Dignities and Offices they had enjoyed since the first foundation of that Commonwealth, and which they had so justly acquired as the rewards of so many glorious services they had done their country.

Under these dismal circumstances was the Prince of Orange, now King of England born, and in apartments hung with mourning, for the untimely death of a father, and the murder of a royal grandfather, he first saw light.

He was about ten years of age, when his uncle King Charles the Second was restored; and whether it proceeded from want of power or of will in the one, the condition of the other was little bettered by that change. It is true, King Charles in his wars with Holland did always mention the injury done to his nephew as one of the motives of his breaking with the States: yet neither in the Treaty of Breda in 1667, nor in the Alliance made at the Hague in 1668, nor that of the Peace concluded

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cluded at London in 1673-4, was there any notice taken of the Prince of Orange's interest. In this last it is confessed it was needless, seeing some little time before he was restored to all his Hereditary Offices and Dignities upon the following occasion.

The manner how he was restored to dignities of his family.

King Charles, the French King, and the Bishop of Munster, had entered into a mutual League against the Hollanders in the year 1672. While in pursuance of that League, King Charles, without any previous declaration of war, did send out a strong squadron of ships to intercept their Smyrna fleet, and ruin their trade at sea; and while the Bishop of Munster did invade the Provinces that lay next to him, the French King, at the head of a Royal army of at least 118,000 foot, and 26,000 horse, broke in upon them on the other side. Like an impetuous torrent he carried all before him, without any remarkable opposition, making himself master in a few weeks of above forty towns and places of strength, some without firing a gun, and the rest with little or no resistance. This army was composed of the best troops that had been seen together for some ages before, and was made up of several nations. Over and above the French themselves, there were 3,000 English, 3,000 Catalans, 3,000 Genoese, and other Italians, 6,000 Savoyards, 1,200 German horse, 10,000 Swissers, without reckoning into the number

Memoirs Politiqu. de Monsieur du Mont.

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ber the ancient regiments of that nation in the French service; and which was altogether new and extraordinary, there was a regiment of Swiss horse. Under the King in person, this army was commanded by two of the greatest Generals of the age, the late Prince of Conde, and the Mareschal Turenne.

The desperate condition of Holland, An. 1672.

Never was any State nearer its ruin than that of Holland was upon this irruption; and in the opinion of all the word, the end of that flourishing Republic was then at hand. The French pierced into the bowels of Holland as far as Utrecht, where the King kept a splendid Court, and received Embassies from all parts. He was already Master of Three of the Seven Provinces, and a Fourth was in the hands of the Bishop of Munster, his ally. The consternation was so great in the rest, that it is said it was debated at Amsterdam whether they should send the keys of that town to the French King at Utrecht, or hold out a siege.

Scarce any thing can paint out in livelier colours the low ebb the Commonwealth of Holland was brought to at that time, than the Declaration which the French King published at Arnheim, placed at length in the Appendix. In this the French King declared that all the inhabitants of the towns in Holland that should render themselves

Appendix, Number XXIII.

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selves willingly his subjects, and receive his troops, should not only be treated favourably, but likewise be maintained in their liberties and privileges, and enjoy the free exercise of their religion: but on the contrary, whoever of them did not submit themselves, of what degree or condition soever they be, or should endeavour to resist his arms, by opening their Sluices, or any other way, they should be punished with the utmost rigor; "his Majesty be-"ing resolved to give no quarter to the "inhabitants of those towns that shall "resist his arms, but an order to pillage "their goods, and burn their houses."

The causes of that desolation.

Among the more immediate causes of this surprising Desolation of Holland, upon the irruption of the French army, there were chiefly these two: 1. The supine Security, or rather profound lethargy they were of late fallen into. And 2. Their intestine divisions.

As to the first, a vast opulent trade through most parts of the world had wonderfully enriched them, and brought them to neglect and forget the art of war. A Peace that had continued without any remarkable interruption for about twenty years at land, lulled them so fast asleep with false notions of their own strength, that they had neglected their fortifications and martial discipline, and were brought to

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to believe that their neighbours' garrisons and strong places were sufficient to cover them from all insults.

As to the second, their ancestors at the first sounding their State, taking into their consideration, that they were to raise a Commonwealth out of a great many distinct Governments, independent originally of one another, and governed by customs and laws peculiar to every town and province, and how difficult it was to prevent intestine divisions in a body thus aggregated, did wisely provide against such a destructive inconvenience, by constituting an Hereditary Stadtholder and Captain General, whose office and power was to be the center in which all the various lines of their Constitution should meet, and the cement that should keep the whole frame together. This high and important dignity was lodged in the Family of Orange; and it was to the auspicious conduct of the Princes of that House, that the States of Holland owed their first settlement, and the figure they have made ever since in the world.

What their ancestors foresaw, and had thus wisely provided against, came to pass: for no sooner was this office and dignity abolished, upon the death of the last Prince of Orange, through the interest of a prevailing faction, but they fell into intestine divisions and animosities at home, and

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and sunk in their reputation abroad: insomuch that it was justly said, "That instead of being the United, they were "become the Dis-united Provinces."

There may be a third reason given for this chain of misfortunes that overwhelmed the Hollanders the first year of this war. From a false, though plausible notion of saving money, they thought fit to reduce their Army to 25,000 men, and rejected the repeated propositions of Spain to enter into a Treaty with them for a mutual supply of money yearly to England and Sweden, by which these two Crowns might be enabled and encouraged to maintain and continue the Triple League. And which was yet worse, the few troops they had were in a bad condition, and sunk to a very low degree both in discipline and courage. Their fortifications were every where fallen into decay, and their magazines ill provided. To compleat all their misfortunes, they wanted a Head to command them, at least one of weight and authority enough to support so great a trust.

It were in vain to attempt to express the deplorable condition of the Hollanders at that time. It is enough to say, the approach of a Triumphant King, flushed with victories, put them into so deep a consternation, that a great many of their richest families abandoned their country, and retired

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tired to Hamburgh, Antwerp, and other places of security; while the States General were upon giving orders for removing the Courts and Archives from the Hague, for fear they should fall into the enemy's hands. This horrid fright, which spread itself every where, and grew every day greater, was sufficient of itself to occasion the entire ruin of their State, though it had not been accompanied, as it was, with seditions, divisions, and tumults in every town and province, and they had no enemy within their bowels. Those alone did naturally tend to the dissolution of the Belgic Union, without any other concurring circumstances to hurry it on.

Matters standing thus with the United Provinces, they came to see, when it was almost too late, their former errors, and more particularly that of abolishing the Office of Stadtholder. And now, as the last cast for their Liberty, they applied to the Prince of Orange, young though he was, as the only person capable to support their tottering State, and to put a stop to the miseries that overwhelmed their country. With the universal consent and approbation of the People, and the public sanction of the States, he was declared Stadtholder, Captain and Admiral General, and restored to all the dignities of his family.

It is hard to determine whether the misfortunes

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fortunes of his country, or the universal love the people bore him, contributed most to his Restoration. However, he was restored in spite of the Barnevelt Faction; and had the pleasure to see De Wit, the greatest opposer of his House, among the other Deputies that waited upon him with the Resolutions of the States-General, and delivered him his first Commission.

The difficulties this young Prince had to struggle with, in supporting his sinking country, would have palled any courage but his own; and may in the main be gathered from what has been already said. What these were, upon his first heading the army, are in part so well expressed by a French author, who was a considerable actor in that war on the French side, and has written the account of it with an impartiality not over-frequent among the historians of his country, that it may not be amiss to transcribe some few passages relating to this matter, as they lie together in the English translation.

The History of the Mareschal Turenne, by Monsieur de Buffon, rendered out of French by Ferrand Spence, 1686.

The difficulties the Prince of Orange had to grapple with for retrieving his country from ruin.

"Nothing but the season of the year," says he, "hindered the French from at-
"tempting new conquests, or rather the
"waters which covered the surface of the
"earth. The Duke of Luxemburgh being
"still at Utrecht, hoped, however, that if
"it once came to freeze, he might by means
"of the ice surprise several posts that
"were otherwise inaccessible. As the
"enemy

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"enemy (meaning the Hollanders) were not "unacquainted with his design, they had "ever the shovel and pick-axe in their "hands, to precaution themselves against "this misfortune, upon the first frost that "should come. They broke the least piece "of ice, hoping by taking such strict care, "they should render all his measures abor- "tive. But it happening to freeze all of a "sudden, it was impossible for them to "repair in several days what fell out in one "night. This cast so great an alarm into "the places that were the most exposed, "that people's minds were wholly set upon "removing thence what they had most "precious.

"The consternation spread itself to the "very Hague, which being destitute of "walls and defence, could not otherwise "expect but a strange desolation, if the "Posts that covered it came to be forced. "However, the Prince of Orange, who "laid the public miseries as much to heart "as if they had only regarded himself, had "not for all this been under any appre- "hensions, if his troops, by being so often "beaten, had not utterly lost their cou- "rage: for though the ice seemed to "give a great advantage to the French, "they would however run a great risque, "in coming to attack him in places well "intrenched, and where his Highness "might oppose against them as many

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"men as they could have. He was busied
"day and night either in adding new for-
"tifications to those that were already
"made, or in encouraging his captains
"and soldiers. But whatever care he took,
"Colonel Penvil abandoned his post upon
"the request of the inhabitants of Dergau,
"who sent for him to maintain their
The D. of Luxemburgh's cruelties at Swammerdam. "walls. The Duke of Luxemburgh, trust-
"ing rather to the terror than the strength
"of his troops, marching in the mean
"while towards Bodegrave and Swammer-
"dam, won both, sword in hand. And,
"as if this action had not been sufficiently
"glorious by reason of the little opposition
"he met with, he would render it the
"more remarkable, not only by the slaugh-
"ter that he made of those that were
"found in arms, but of all sorts of per-
"sons, even women and children. He
"was often heard, amidst the piteous cries
"that every one made to move him to
"compassion, to bid his soldiers give no
"quarter, but plunder, ravish, and kill.
"He himself did what he said; and his
"men, after his example, having deluged
"the streets with rivers of blood, entered
"the houses, where they committed incon-
"ceivable cruelties. Several women were
"violated in their husbands' arms, several
"maidens in their fathers'; and whoever
"went about to oppose such criminal ex-
"cesses, was pitiously massacred by these
"furies,

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"furies, who suffered themselves to be no "longer governed, but by their disorderly "passion, and by their cruelty." Thus far my author.

Notwithstanding these difficulties and discouragements that seemed insuperable, wonderful and surprising were the consequences of the Prince of Orange's Restoration. As if that family alone were designed of Heaven to be the Founder and Restorer of Holland: it fell out, that immediately upon his being called to the helm, the whole scene of their affairs changed to the better. At the head of a small ill-disciplined army, discouraged by continual losses, he not only put a stop to the French Conquests, but by taking first Naërden, in spite of an army near four times greater than his own, and carrying afterwards the war out of his own country, he obliged the enemy to abandon their conquests in Holland as fast as they had gained them, and be contented to retire to the defence of their own frontiers.

This war was attended with various successes on all sides; and most of the Princes of Europe came to be some way or other engaged in it; till at last it ended in the Treaty of Nimeguen. The part King Charles acted in all these transactions, contributed but little to his glory, for he had been unsuccessful while he was engaged in the war; and when he came to

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be a Mediator for the Peace, all parties grew jealous of him, and neglected him.

It was during the course of this war, as has been said before, that King Charles atoned for all the errors of his reign, by marrying his niece, the lady Mary, to the Prince of Orange: and whatever were the motives that induced him to comply in this with the universal wishes of his people, it has been found since, that not only England, but the greatest part of Europe, do share at this day in the blessings that have attended it.

By this match the Prince of Orange had a double interest in England, both as a Prince of the blood himself, and in right of his Princess, the next Presumptive Heir. He lived with King Charles in as much friendship as was possible, for one that would not enter into an interest separate from that of his country, or of England. Insomuch that in all the endeavors that were made to exclude the Duke of York from the Crown, he looked on, without espousing any of the parties that struggled for or against the Bill of Exclusion; though he knew it was designed that He and the Princess should succeed upon the death of King Charles.

When King James came to the Throne, the Prince of Orange tried all possible means to cultivate a sincere friendship with him,

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him, and to persuade him to enter into such measures as might tend to the common safety of Europe, and the happiness of England; which if King James had given ear to, would have preserved the Crown upon his head. And so cautious was he of giving him any reasonable ground of complaint, that though in King Charles's time he had given a generous welcome to the Duke of Monmouth, at the request of that King, upon his retiring to Holland; yet, as soon as he knew that the unhappy gentleman designed to invade England upon King James's Accession to the Trone, he offered to come over in person to his assistance, and sent him with all expedition the English and Scotch troops that were in the service of the States.

It had been happy for King James if he had complied with the advice of the Prince of Orange, or had not by his success against Monmouth been pushed on to make the steps that have been mentioned, together with a great many more, for brevity's sake here omitted, towards his own ruin, and that of the Constitution of England. But being flattered with the gaudy charms of Absolute Power, and the empty merit of Restoring the Romish Religion, he drove on without controul, till at last he forced the people of England upon an inevitable necessity of calling in

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the Prince of Orange to retrieve the expiring liberties of their country.

At the same time an indissoluble friendship and alliance, which King James had entered into when Duke of York, and had cultivated afterwards when he came to the Crown, was a matter of that vast consequence to the neighbouring Princes and States, as would not permit them to stand by as unconcerned spectators of the scene that was acting in England; but obliged them likewise to have recourse to the Prince of Orange for breaking off their own fetters, by breaking first those of England.

But by what steps and concurring accidents, and with what surprizing circumstances, this mighty design came about, may some time or other, though perhaps not so properly in this age, be the subject of a *Second* Part, when it meets with one of more leisure and capacity to write it.

APPEN-

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APPENDIX;

CONTAINING

A COLLECTION OF INSTRUMENTS & ORIGINAL PAPERS, REFERRED TO IN THE FORMER MEMOIRS.

NUMBER I.

The Character of the Members of the House of Commons in Queen Elizabeth's *Time; and how differing from those in the Reign of King* James.

Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 13, 14.

WE must ascribe some part of the commendation to the wisdom of the times, and the choice of Parliament-men: for I find not that they were at any time given to any violent or pertinacious dispute; elections being made of grave and discreet persons, not factious and ambitious of fame; such as came not to the House with a malevolent spirit of contention, but with a preparation to consult on the public good; rather to comply than contest with her Majesty. Neither do I find that the House was at any time weakened and pestered with the admission of too many young heads, as it hath been of later times: which remembers me of Recorder Martin's speech, about the tenth of our late Sovereign Lord King James, when there

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were accounts taken of Forty Gentlemen not above Twenty, and some not exceeding Sixteen; which moved him to say, that it was the ancient custom for Old Men to make Laws for Young ones; but that then he saw the case altered, and that there were children elected unto the Great Council of the Kingdom, which came to invade and invert nature, and to enact laws to govern their Fathers. Sure we are, the House always took the common cause into their consideration, and they saw the Queen had just occasion, and need enough to use their assistance: neither do I remember that the House did ever capitulate, or prefer their private to the public, the Queen's necessities, &c. but waited their times, and in the first place gave their supply, and according to the exigency of her affairs; yet failed not at last to obtain what they desired; so that the Queen and her Parliaments had ever the good fortune to depart in love, and on reciprocal terms; which are considerations which have not been so exactly observed in our last Assemblies as they might, and I would to God they had been: for considering the great debt left on the King, and in what incumbrances the House itself had then drawn him, his Majesty was not well used; though I lay not the blame on the whole suffrage of the House, where he had many good friends; for I dare avouch, had the House been freed of half a dozen of popular and discontented Persons, such as (with the fellow that burnt the Temple at Ephesus) would be talked of, though but for doing of mischief, I am confident the King had obtained that which in reason, and at his first accession he ought to have received freely, and without any condition.

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NUMBER II.

The Character of Cecil *Earl of* Salisbury; *with his Letter to the Lord* Mountjoy, *about the* Spaniard's *Invading* Ireland. Naunton, Ibid. p. 80, 81, 82, 83.

AND so again to this great Master of State, and the Staff of the Queen's declining age; who though his little crooked person could not promise any great supportation, yet it carried thereon a Head and a Head-piece of a vast content; and therein it seems, nature was so diligent to compleat one and the best part about him, as that to the perfection of his memory and intellectuals, she took care also of his senses; and to put him in *Linceos Oculos*, or to pleasure him the more, borrowed of *Argos*, so to give unto him a prospective sight. And for the rest of his sensitive virtues, his predecessor *Walsingham* had left him a receipt to smell out what was done in the conclave; and his good old father was so well seen in the mathematics, as that he could tell you through all Spain, every part, every ship, with the burthens, whither bound, what preparation, what impediments for diversion, of enterprises, councils, and resolutions. And that we may see (as in a little map) how docible this little man was, I will present a taste of his abilities.

Mountjoy. My Lord of Devonshire, (upon the certainty the Spaniard would invade Ireland with a strong army) had written very earnestly to the Queen and the Council, for such supplies to be sent over, that might enable him to march up to the Spaniard, if he did land, and follow on his prosecution against the rebels. Sir Robert Cecil (besides,

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Earl of Salisbury.

sides the general despatch of the Council, as he often did) wrote this in private: for these two began then to love dearly.

"My Lord.—Out of the abundance of my affection, and the care I have of your well-doing, I must in private put you out of doubt, (for of fear I know you cannot be otherwise sensible, than in the way of honour) that the Spaniard will not come unto you this year; for I have it from my own, what preparations are in all his parts, and what can he do; for be confident, he beareth up a reputation by seeming to embrace more than he can gripe; but the next year be assured he will cast over unto you some forlorn hopes, which how they may be re-inforced beyond his present ability, and his first intention, I cannot as yet make any certain judgment; but I believe out of my intelligence, that you may expect their landing in Munster; and, the more to distract you, in several places, as at Kingsale, Beerhaven, Baltimore, where you may be sure (coming from sea) they will first fortify, and learn the strength of the Rebels, before they dare take the field; howsoever (as I know you will not) lessen not your care, neither your defences; and whatsoever lies within my power to do you and the public service, rest therefore assured."

Note.—All came exactly to pass, as this letter insinuates.

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NUMBER III.

Queen Elizabeth's *Speech to the House of Commons, in Answer to their Address about her Marriage.*

Cambden's Hist. of Q. Eliz. p. 26, 27.

" IN a matter most unpleasing, most pleasing to me, is the apparent good will of you and my People, as proceeding from a very good mind towards me and the Commonwealth. Concerning Marriage, which ye so earnestly move me to, I have been long since persuaded, that I was sent into this world by God to think and do those things chiefly, which may tend to his Glory. Hereupon have I chosen that kind of life which is most free from the troublesome cares of this world, that I might attend the service of God alone. From which, if either the tendered Marriages of most potent Princes, or the danger of death intended against me, could have removed me, I had long agone enjoyed the honour of a husband. And these things have I thought upon when I was a private person. But now that the public care of governing the kingdom is laid upon me, to draw upon me also the cares of marriage, may seem a point of inconsiderate folly. Yea, to satisfy you, I have already joined myself in Marriage to an Husband, namely, the Kingdom of England; and behold (said she, which I marvel ye have forgotten) the pledge of this my Wedlock and Marriage with my Kingdom. (And therewith she drew the Ring from her finger, and shewed it, wherewith at her Coronation she had in a set form of words solemnly given herself in Marriage to her Kingdom.) Here having made a pause:

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pause: And do not (said she) upbraid me with miserable lack of Children; for every one of you, and as many as are Englishmen, are Children and Kinsmen to me; of whom, if God deprive me not, (which God forbid) I cannot without injury be accounted Barren. But I commend you that ye have not appointed me an Husband, for that were most unworthy the Majesty of an Absolute Princess, and unbeseeming your wisdom, which are subjects born. Nevertheless, if it please God that I enter into another course of life, I promise you I will do nothing which may be prejudicial to the Commonwealth, but will take such an Husband as near as may be as will have as great a care of the Commonwealth as myself. But if I continue in this kind of life I have begun, I doubt not but God will so direct mine own and your Counsels, that ye shall not need to doubt of a Successor which may be more beneficial to the Commonwealth than he which may be born of me, considering that the issue of the best Princes many times degenerateth. And to me it shall be a full satisfaction, both for the Memorial of my Name, and for my Glory also, if, when I shall let my last breath, it be engraven upon my marble tomb, *Here lieth* ELIZABETH, *which Reigned a Virgin, and died a Virgin.*"

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NUMBER IV.

Queen Elizabeth's *Letter to King* Henry *the Fourth of France, upon his changing his Religion.* Ibid. p. 475.

"ALAS! what deep sorrow, what vehement grief, what sighs have I felt at my heart, for the things which Morlante hath told me of? Alas! is the world come to this pass? Was it possible that any worldly matter should make you quit the fear of God? Can we expect any happy issue of such a fact? Or could you think that he who hath hitherto with his own Right Hand upholden and preserved you, would now forsake you? It is a very dangerous thing to do evil that good may come of it. Yet I hope a sober spirit will put you into a better mind. In the mean time I will not omit to make it a principal part of my prayers, the recommending you to God, beseeching him that the hands of Esau may not lose you the blessing of Jacob. Whereas you do religiously and solemnly offer me your friendship, I know to my great cost I have well deserved it; neither should I repent that, had you not changed your Father. Verily, from henceforth I cannot be your sister by the Father, for the truth is, I shall ever more dearly love and honour mine own Father than a false and counterfeit one: which God knoweth very well, who (I beseech him) bring you back again to a better mind.

Subscribed,

Your Sister, if it be after the old manner; as for the new I have nothing to do with it,

ELIZABETH R.

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NUMBER V.

Truth brought to Light, or the first 14 Years of K. James, p. 33.

An Account of what was Remarkable upon opening the Body of Prince Henry.

FIRST, we found his liver paler than ordinary, in certain places somewhat wan, his gall without any choler in it, and distended with wind.

Secondly, his spleen was in divers places more than ordinarily black.

Thirdly, his stomach was in no part offended.

Fourthly, his midriff was in divers places black.

Fifthly, his lungs were very black, and in divers places spotted, and full of a thin watery blood.

Lastly, the veins in the hinder part of his head were fuller than ordinary, but the ventricles and hollowness of the brain were full of clear water.

In witness whereof, with our own hands we have subscribed this present relation, the 7th day of November, 1612.

MAYERNE,
ATKINS,
HAMMOND,
PALMER,
GIFFORD,
BUTTLER.

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NUMBER VI.

Mr. Secretary Vane's *Notes about the Earl of* Strafford's *Advice to King* Charles *to bring over an Army from Ireland to subdue England.* Whitlock's Memoirs, p. 41.

NOTE.—This was the most dubious, and yet the most material Article against him, which contributed most to his Ruin.

The Title of them was,

No danger of a War with Scotland,
If Offensive, not Defensive.

KING *Charles.* How can we undertake Offensive War, if we have no more money?

Lord *Strafford.* Borrow of the City 100,000*l.* Go on vigorously to levy Ship-money. Your Majesty having tried the affection of your People, you are absolved and loose from all rule of Government, and to do what Power will admit. Your Majesty having tried all ways, and being refused, shall be acquitted before God and man. And you have an army in Ireland that you may employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience; for I am confident the Scots cannot hold out five months.

Archbishop *Laud.* You have tried all ways, and have always been denied; it is now lawful to take it by force.

Lord *Cottington.* Levies abroad there may be made for defence of the kingdom. The Lower

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Lower House are weary of the King and Church. All ways shall be just to raise money by, in this inevitable necessity, and are to be used, being lawful.

Archbishop *Laud.* For an Offensive, not a Defensive War.

Lord *Strafford.* The town is full of Lords; put the Commission of Array on foot; and if any of them stir, we will make them smart.

NUMBER VII.

The Theatrical Manner of Archbishop Laud's *Consecrating* Catherine Creed Church, *in* London.

Rushworth, Part 2, Vol. 1. p. 77.

ST. CATHERINE CREED CHURCH being lately repaired, was suspended from all Divine service, sermons, and sacraments, till it were Consecrated. Wherefore Dr. Laud, Lord Bishop of London, on the 16th of January, being the Lord's Day, came thither in the morning to consecrate the same. Now because great exceptions were taken at the formality thereof, we will briefly relate the manner of the Consecration.

At the Bishop's approach to the west door of the Church, some that were prepared for it, cried with a loud voice, "Open, open, ye ever-"lasting Doors, that the King of Glory may "enter in!" and presently the doors were opened, and the Bishop, with some Doctors, and many other principal men, went in, and immediately falling down upon his knees, with his eyes lifted up, and his arms spread abroad, uttered

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uttered these words, "This Place is holy, this "Ground is holy; in the Name of the Father, "Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy!"

Then he took up some of the dust, and threw it up into the air, several times in his going up towards the Chancel; when they approached near to the rail and Communion Table, the Bishop bowed towards it several times, and returning they went round the Church in procession, saying the 100th Psalm, after that the 19th Psalm, and then said a Form of Prayer, Lord Jesus Christ, &c. and concluding, "We "consecrate this Church, and separate it unto "thee, as Holy Ground, not to be prophaned "any more to common use."

After this, the Bishop being near the Communion Table, and taking a written book in his hand, pronounced Curses upon those that should afterwards prophane that Holy Place, by musters of soldiers, or keeping prophane Law-Courts, or carrying burdens through it; and at the end of every Curse, he bowed towards the East, and said. "Let all the People say, Amen."

When the Curses were ended, he pronounced a number of Blessings upon all those that had any hand in framing and building of that sacred and beautiful Church, and those that had given, and should hereafter give any Chalices, Plate, Ornaments, or Utensils: and at the end of every Blessing, he bowed towards the East, saying, "Let all the People say, Amen."

After this followed the Sermon; which being ended, the Bishop consecrated and administered the Sacrament, in manner following:

As he approached the Communion Table he made many several lowly bowings; and coming up to the side of the table where the Bread and

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Wine were covered, he bowed seven times, and then after the reading of many prayers, he came near the Bread, and gently lifted up the corner of the Napkin wherein the Bread was laid; and when he beheld the Bread, he laid it down again, flew back a step or two, bowed three several times towards it, then he drew near again, and opened the Napkin, and bowed as before.

Then he laid his hand on the Cup, which was full of Wine, with a cover upon it, which he let go again, went back, and bowed thrice towards it, then he came near again; and lifting up the Cover of the Cup, looked into it, and seeing the Wine, he let fall the Cover again, retired back, and bowed as before; then he received the Sacrament, and gave it to some principal men; after which many prayers being said, the solemnity of the Consecration ended.

NUMBER VIII.

Rushworth, Part 2. Vol. 1.

The Order of Council against Archibald, *the King's Fool, for affronting Archbishop* Laud.

IT is this day ordered by his Majesty, with the advice of the Board, that Archibald Armstrong, the King's Fool, for certain scandalous words of a high nature, spoken by him against the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace, and proved to be uttered by him by two witnesses, shall have his coat pulled over his head, and be discharged of the King's service, and banished the Court; for which the Lord Chamberlain of the King's household is prayed and required to give order to be executed. And immediately the same was put in execution.

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NUMBER IX.

The Petition of the House of Commons, and their Remonstrance of the State of the Nation, presented to King Charles I. *at his return from Scotland in* 1641. *Together with the King's Answer, and the Declaration he afterwards published to the same purpose.*

Husband's Collect. in 4to. from p. 1 to p. 29.

NOTE.—That the matters contained in these four papers, were the grounds of the Civil War, and afterwards came to be decided by the sword.

The Petition of the House of Commons, which accompanied the Declaration of the State of the Kingdom, when it was presented to his Majesty at Hampton Court.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majesty's most humble and faithful Subjects, the Commoners in this present Parliament assembled, do with much thankfulness and joy, acknowledge the great mercy and favour of God, in giving your Majesty a safe and peaceable return out of Scotland into your kingdom of England, where the pressing dangers and distempers of the State have caused us with much earnestness to desire the comfort of your gracious presence, and likewise the unity and justice of your Royal Authority to give more life and power to the dutiful and loyal Counsels and endeavours of your Parliament, for the prevention of that imminent ruin and destruction wherein your Kingdoms of England and Scotland are threatened. The duty which we owe to your Majesty and our Country, cannot but make us very sensible and apprehensive, that the multiplicity, sharpness, and malignity of those evils under which we have now many years suffered, are fomented and

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cherished by a corrupt and ill-affected party, who amongst other their mischievous devices for the alteration of Religion and Government, have thought by many false scandals and imputations, cunningly insinuated and dispersed amongst the people, to blemish and disgrace our proceedings in this Parliament, and to get themselves a party and faction amongst your subjects, for the better strengthening of themselves in their wicked courses, and hindering those provisions and remedies which might by the wisdom of your Majesty, and Counsel of your Parliament, be opposed against them.

For preventing whereof, and the better information of your Majesty, your Peers, and all other your loyal Subjects, we have been necessitated to make a Declaration of the state of the Kingdom, both before and since the assembly of this Parliament unto this time, which we do humbly present to your Majesty without the least intention to lay any blemish on your Royal Person, but only to represent how your Royal Authority and Trust have been abused, to the great prejudice and danger of your Majesty, and of all your good subjects.

And because we have reason to believe that those malignant parties, whose proceedings evidently appear to be mainly for the advantage and increase of Popery, is composed, set up, and acted by the subtil practice of the Jesuits, and other engineers and factors for Rome, and to the great danger of this Kingdom, and most grievous affliction of your loyal Subjects, have so far prevailed, as to corrupt divers of your Bishops, and others in prime places of the Church, and also to bring divers of these instruments to be of your Privy Council, and other employ-

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employments of trust and nearness about your Majesty, the Prince, and the rest of your Royal Children.

And by this means hath had such an operation in your Council, and the most important affairs and proceedings of your Government, that a most dangerous division and chargeable preparation for war betwixt your Kingdom of England and Scotland, the increase of jealousies betwixt your Majesty and your most obedient Subjects, the violent distraction and interruption of this Parliament, the insurrection of the Papists in your Kingdom of Ireland, and bloody massacre of your people, have been not only endeavoured and attempted, but in a great measure compassed and effected.

For preventing the final accomplishment whereof, your poor subjects are enforced to engage their persons and estates to the maintaining of a very expenseful and dangerous War, notwithstanding they have already, since the beginning of this Parliament, undergone the charge of 150,000 pounds sterling, or thereabout, for the necessary support and supply of your Majesty in these present and perilous designs. And because all our most faithful endeavours and engagements will be ineffectual for the peace, safety, and preservation of your Majesty and your people, if some present, real, and effectual course be not taken for suppressing this wicked and malignant party;

We your most humble and obedient subjects do with all faithfulness and humility beseech your Majesty,

1. That you will be graciously pleased to concur with the humble desires of your people

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in a Parliamentary way, for the preserving the peace and safety of the kingdom from the malicious designs of the Popish party,

For depriving the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament, and abridging their immoderate power usurped over the Clergy, and other your good subjects, which they have most perniciously abused, to the hazard of Religion, and great prejudice and oppression of the Laws of the Kingdom, and just liberty of your people.

For the taking away such oppressions in Religion, Church-Government, and Discipline, as have been brought in and fomented by them.

For uniting all such your loyal subjects together, as join in the same fundamental truths against the Papist, by removing some oppressions and unnecessary Ceremonies, by which divers weak consciences have been scrupled, and seem to be divided from the rest: for the due execution of those good laws which have been made for securing the liberty of your subjects.

2. That your Majesty will likewise be pleased to remove from your Council all such as persist to favour and promote any of those pressures and corruptions wherewith your people have been grieved; and that for the future your Majesty will vouchsafe to employ such persons in your great and public affairs, and to take such to be near you in places of trust, as your Parliament may have cause to confide in; that in your princely goodness to your people, you will reject and refuse all mediation and solicitation to the contrary, how powerful and near soever.

3. That you would be pleased to forbear to alienate any of the forfeited and escheated Lands in Ireland, which shall accrue to your Crown by

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by reason of this Rebellion, that out of them the Crown may be the better supported, and some satisfaction made to your Subjects of this Kingdom, for the great expenses they are like to undergo this War.

Which humble desires of ours being graciously fulfilled by your Majesty, we will by the blessing and favour of God most cheerfully undergo the hazard and expenses of this War, and apply ourselves to such other courses and counsels as may support your Royal Estate with honour and plenty at home, with power and reputation abroad; and by our loyal affections, obedience, and service, lay a sure and lasting foundation of the greatness and prosperity of your Majesty, and your Royal Posterity in future times.

A Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom.

Die Mercurii, 15 *Decemb.* 1642.

THE Commons in this present Parliament assembled, having with much earnestness, and faithfulness of affection, and zeal to the public good of this Kingdom, and his Majesty's honour and service, for the space of twelve months, wrestled with the great dangers and fears, the pressing miseries and calamities, the various distempers and disorders, which had not only assaulted, but even overwhelmed and extinguished the liberty, peace, and prosperity of this Kingdom, the comfort and hopes of all his Majesty's good subjects, and exceedingly weakened and undermined the foundation and strength of his own Royal Throne; do yet find

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an abounding malignity and opposition in those parties and factions, who have been the cause of those evils, and do still labor to cast aspersions upon that which hath been done, and to raise many difficulties for the hindrance of that which remains yet undone, and to foment jealousies betwixt the King and the Parliament; that so they may deprive him of his people, of the fruit of his own gracious intentions, and their humble desires of procuring the public peace, safety, and happiness of this Realm. For the preventing of those miserable effects, which such malicious endeavours may produce, we have thought good to declare,

1. The root and the growth of these mischievous designs.

2. The maturity and ripeness, to which they have attained before the beginning of the Parliament.

3. The effectual means which hath been used for the extirpation of those dangerous evils, and the progress which hath therein been made by his Majesty's goodness, and the wisdom of the Parliament.

4. The ways of obstruction and opposition by which that progress hath been interrupted.

5. The courses to be taken for the removing those obstacles, and for the accomplishing of our most dutiful and faithful intentions and endeavours of restoring and establishing the ancient Honour, Greatness, and Security of this Crown and Nation. The root of all this mischief, we find to be a malignant and pernicious design of subverting the fundamental Laws and Principles of Government; upon which the religion and justice of this kingdom are firmly estab-

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established. The actors and promoters hereof have been,

1. The Jesuited Papists, who hate the Laws as the obstacles of that change and subversion of religion which they so much long for.

2. The Bishops, and the corrupt part of the Clergy, who cherish formality and superstition, as the natural effects and more probable supports of their own Ecclesiastical Tyranny and Usurpation.

3. Such Counsellors and Courtiers as for private ends have engaged themselves to further the interests of some foreign Princes or States, to the prejudice of his Majesty and the State at home.

The common Principles by which they moulded and governed all their particular counsels and actions were these:

First, To maintain continual differences and discontents betwixt the King and the People, upon questions of Prerogative and Liberty, that so they might have the advantage of siding with him, and, under the notions of men addicted to his service, gain to themselves and their parties the places of greatest trust and power in the kingdom.

A second, To suppress the purity and power of Religion, and such as were best affected to it; as being contrary to their own ends, and the greatest impediment to that change which they thought to introduce.

A third, To conjoin those parties of the Kingdom, which were most propitious to their own ends, and to divide those who were most opposite, which consisted in many particular observations;

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vations; to cherish the *Arminian* part in those points, wherein they agree with the Papists; to multiply and enlarge the difference between the common Protestants and those whom they call Puritans, to introduce and countenance such Opinions and Ceremonies as are fittest for accommodation with Popery, to increase and maintain ignorance, looseness, and prophaneness in the people: that of those three parties, *Papists*, *Arminians*, and *Libertines*, they might compose a body fit to act such counsels and resolutions, as were most conducible to their own ends.

A fourth, To disaffect the King to Parliaments, by slanders and false imputations, and by putting him upon other ways of supply, which in shew and appearance were fuller of advantage than the ordinary course of Subsidies, though in truth they brought more loss than gain both to the King and People, and have caused the distractions under which we both suffer.

As in all compounded bodies, the operations are qualified according to the predominant element; so in this mixed party, the Jesuited Counsels being most active and prevailing, may easily be discovered to have had the greatest sway in all their determinations; and if they be not prevented, are like to devour the rest, or to turn them into their own nature.

In the beginning of his Majesty's Reign, the party began to revive and flourish again, having been somewhat dampt by the breach with Spain in the last year of King James, and by his Majesty's Marriage with France; the interests and Councils of that State being not so contrary to the good of Religion, and the prosperity

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rity of this Kingdom, as those of Spain; and the Papists of England having been ever more addicted to Spain than France; yet they still retained a purpose and resolution to weaken the Protestant parties in all parts, and even in France, whereby to make way for the change of Religion, which they intended at home.

The first effect and evidence of their recovery and strength was the dissolution of the Parliament at Oxford, after there had been given two Subsidies to his Majesty; and before they received relief in any one Grievance, many other more miserable effects followed.

The loss of the Rochel Fleet, by the help of our shipping set forth and delivered over to the French, in opposition to the advice of Parliament, which left that town without defence by sea, and made way not only to the loss of that important place, but likewise to the loss of all the strength and security of the Protestant Religion in France.

The diverting of his Majesty's course of Wars from the West Indies, which was the most facile and hopeful way for this kingdom to prevail against the Spaniard; to an expenseful and successful attempt upon Cales, which was so ordered, as if it had rather been intended to make us weary of War than to prosper in it.

The precipitate breach with France, by taking their ships to a great value, without making recompense to the English, whose goods were thereupon imbarred and confiscate in that kingdom.

The peace with Spain without consent of Parliament, contrary to the promise of King James to both Houses; whereby the Palatine Cause was deserted, and left to chargeable and hope-

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hopeless Treaties, which for the most part, were managed by those who might justly be suspected to be no friends to that cause.

The charging of the Kingdom with billeted soldiers in all parts of it, and that concomitant design of German Horse, that the land might either submit with fear, or be enforced with rigour to such arbitrary contributions as should be required of them.

The dissolving of the Parliament in the second year of his Majesty's Reign, after a Declaration of their intent to grant five Subsidies.

The exacting of the like proportion of five Subsidies after the Parliament dissolved, by Commission of Loan; and divers gentlemen and others imprisoned for not yielding to pay that loan, whereby many of them contracted such sicknesses as cost them their lives. Great sums of money required and raised by Privy Seals. An unjust and pernicious attempt to extort great payments from the subject, by way of excise; and a Commission issued under Seal to that purpose. The Petition of Right, which was granted in full Parliament, blasted with an illegal Declaration, to make it destructive to itself, to the Power of Parliament, to the Liberty of the Subject, and to that purpose printed with it; and the Petition made of no use, but to shew the bold and presumptuous injustice of such Ministers as durst break the Laws, and suppress the Liberties of the Kingdom, after they had been so solemnly and evidently declared.

Another Parliament dissolved, 4 Car. The priviledge of Parliament broken by imprisoning divers Members of the House, detaining them close prisoners for many months together, without

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out the liberty of using books, pen, ink, or paper; denying them all the comforts of life, all means of preservation of health, not permitting their wives to come unto them, even in time of their sickness. And for the compleating of that cruelty, after years spent in such miserable durance, depriving them of the necessary means of Spiritual consolation, not suffering them to go abroad to enjoy God's Ordinances in God's House, or God's Ministers to come to them, to administer comfort unto them in their private chambers; and to keep them still in this oppressed condition, not admitting them to be bailed according to Law, yet vexing them with Informations in inferior Courts, sentencing and fining some of them for matters done in Parliament, and extorting the payments of those fines from them, enforcing others to put in security of good behaviour before they could be released.

The imprisonment of the rest which refused to be bound, still continued; which might have been perpetual, if necessity had not the last year brought another Parliament to relieve them; of whom one died, by the cruelty and harshness of his imprisonment, which would admit of no relaxation, notwithstanding the imminent danger of his life did sufficiently appear by the declaration of his physician: and his release, or at least, his refreshment, was sought by many humble petitions. And his blood still cries either for vengeance, or repentance of those ministers of state, who have at once obstructed the course both of his Majesty's justice and mercy.

Upon the dissolution of both these Parliaments, untrue and scandalous Declarations published, to asperse their proceedings and some of their

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their Members, unjustly to make them odious, and colour the violence which was used against them. Proclamations set out to the same purpose; and to the great dejecting of the hearts of the people, forbidding them even to speak of Parliaments.

After the breach of Parliament, in the fourth year of his Majesty, injustice, oppression, and violence broke in upon us, without any restraint or moderation; and yet the first project was the great sums exacted through the whole kingdom, for default of Knighthood, which seemed to have some colour and shadow of a Law, yet if it be rightly examined by that obsolete law which was pretended for it, it would be found to be against all the rules of justice, both in respect of the persons charged, the proportion of the fines demanded, and the absurd and unreasonable manner of their proceedings. Tonnage and Poundage hath been received without color or pretence of law; many other heavy impositions continued against law; and some so unreasonable, that the sum of the charge exceeds the value of the goods. The Book of Rates lately inhanced to a high proportion; and such merchants as would not submit to their illegal and unreasonable payments, were vexed and oppressed above measure; and the ordinary course of justice, the common birth-right of the subject of England, wholly obstructed unto them. And although all this was taken upon pretence of guarding the sea, yet a new and unheard-of tax of Ship-money was devised, upon the same pretence. By both which there was charged upon the subject near 700,000*l.* some years; and yet the merchants have been left so naked to the violence of the Turkish pirates, that many

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many great ships of value, and thousands of his Majesty's subjects, have been taken by them, and do still remain in miserable slavery.

The enlargement of Forests, contrary to *Charta de Foresta*, and the Composition thereupon. The exactions of Coat and Conduct-money, and divers other Military Charges. The taking away the arms of the Trained-Bands of divers Counties. The desperate design of engrossing all the Gunpowder into one hand, keeping it in the Tower of London, and setting so high a rate upon it, that the poorer sort were not able to buy it, nor could any have it without license; thereby to leave the several parts of the kingdom destitute of their necessary defence; and by selling so dear that which was sold, to make an unlawful advantage of it, to the great charge and detriment of the subject. The general destruction of the King's Timber, especially that in the Forest of Dean, sold to Papists, which was the best store-house of this kingdom, for the maintenance of our shipping. The taking away of men's right, under colour of the King's Title to Land between high and low water marks. The Monopolies of Soap, Salt, Wine, Leather, Sea-Coal, and in a manner, of all things of most common and necessary use. The restraint of the liberties of the subjects in their habitation, trades, and other interest. Their vexation and oppression by Purveyors, Clerks of the Market, and Salt-Petremen. The sale of pretended Nuisances, as buildings in and about London, conversion of Arable into Pasture, continuance of Pasture, under the name of Depopulation, have drawn many millions out of the subjects' purses, without any considerable profit to his Majesty. Large quantities of Common,

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mon, and several Grounds, have been taken from the subject, by colour of the Statute of Improvement, and by abuse of the Commission of Sewers, without their consent, and against it. And not only private interest, but also public faith have been broken, in seizing of the money and bullion in the Mint; and the whole kingdom like to be robbed at once, in that abominable project of Brass Money. Great numbers of his Majesty's subjects, for refusing those unlawful charges, have been vexed with long and expensive suits; some fined and censured, others committed to long and hard imprisonments and confinements, to the loss of health of many, of life in some; and others have had their houses broken up, their goods seized; some have been restrained from their lawful callings: ships have been interrupted in their voyages, surprised at sea in an hostile manner by Projectors, as by a common enemy? Merchants prohibited to unlade their goods in such ports as were for their own advantage, and forced to bring them to those places which were most for the advantages of the Monopolizers and Projectors. The Court of Star-chamber hath abounded in extravagant Censures, not only for the maintenance and improvement of Monopolies, and other unlawful taxes, but for divers other causes, where there had been no offence, or very small; whereby his Majesty's subjects have been oppressed by grievous fines, imprisonments, stigmatizings, mutilations, whippings, pillories, gags, confinements, banishments; after so rigid a manner, as hath not only deprived men of the society of their friends, exercise of their professions, comfort of books, use of paper or ink, but even violated that near union which God

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God hath established betwixt men and their wives, by forced and constrained separation; whereby they have been bereaved of the comfort and conversation one of another for many years together, without hope of relief; if God had not by his over-ruling Providence, given some interruption to the prevailing power and counsel of those who were the authors and promoters of such peremptory and heady courses.

Judges have been put out of their places, for refusing to do against their oaths and consciences: others have been so awed, that they durst not do their duties; and the better to hold a rod over them, the clause *Quam diu se bene gesserint* was left out of their Patents, and a new clause, *Durante bene placito*, inserted. Lawyers have been checked for being faithful to their clients; Solicitors and Attornies have been threatened, and some punished for following lawful suits. And by this means all the approaches to justice were interrupted and foreclouded. New Oaths have been forced upon the subject against law; new Judicatories erected without law: the Council Table have, by their orders, offered to bind the subjects in their freeholds, suits, estates, and actions. The pretended Court of the Earl Marshal was arbitrary and illegal in its being and proceedings. The Chancery, Exchequer-Chamber, Court of Wards, and other English Courts, have been grievous in exceeding their jurisdiction. The estates of many families weakened, and some ruined by excessive fines, exacted from them for composition of Wardships. All Leases of above a hundred years, made to draw on Wardship contrary to law. Undue proceedings used in the finding of offices,

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to make the jury find for the King. The Common-law Courts seeing all men more inclined to seek justice there, where it may be fitted to their own desire, are known frequently to forsake the rules of the Common-Law, and straining beyond their bounds, under pretence of equity to do injustice. Titles of Honor, Judicial Places, Serjeantships at Law, and other offices, have been sold for great sums of money; whereby the common justice of the kingdom hath been much endangered, not only by opening a way of employment in places of great trust and advantage to men of weak parts, but also by giving occasion to bribery, extortion, partiality: it seldom happening that places ill-gotten are well used. Commissions have been granted for examining the excess of fees; and when great exactions have been discovered, compositions have been made with delinquents, not only for the time past, but likewise for immunity and security in offending for the time to come; which under color of remedy, hath but confirmed and increased the grievance to the subject. The usual course of pricking Sheriffs not observed, but many times Sheriffs made in an extraordinary way; sometimes as a punishment and charge unto them; sometimes such were pricked out, as would be instruments to execute whatsoever they would have to be done.

The Bishops and the rest of the Clergy did triumph in the Suspensions, Excommunications, Deprivations, and Degradations of divers painful, learned and pious Ministers, in the vexation and grievous oppression of great numbers of his Majesty's good subjects. The High Commission grew to such excess of sharpness and severity, as was not much less than the Romish Inquisition;

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tion; and yet in many cases by the Archbishop's power was made much more heavy, being assisted and strengthened by authority of the Council-Table.

The Bishops and their Courts were as eager in the country; and although their jurisdiction could not reach so high in rigor and extremity of punishment, yet were they no less grievous in respect of the generality and multiplicity of vexations, which lighting upon the meaner sort of tradesmen and artificers, did impoverish many thousands, and so afflict and trouble others, that great numbers, to avoid their miseries, departed out of the kingdom, some into New England, and other parts of America; others into Holland, where they have transported their manufactures of cloth, which is not only a loss by diminishing the present stock of the kingdom, but a great mischief, by impairing and endangering the loss of that peculiar trade of clothing, which hath been a plentiful fountain of wealth and honor to this nation. Those were fittest for Ecclesiastical preferment, and soonest obtained it, who were most officious in promoting superstition, most virulent in railing against godliness and honesty.

The most public and solemn sermons before his Majesty, were either to advance Prerogative above Law, and decry the property of the subject; or full of such kind of invectives, whereby they might make those odious who sought to maintain the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom; and such men were sure to be weeded out of the Commission of the Peace, and out of all other employments of power in the government of the country. Many noble personages were Counsellors in name, but the

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power and authority remained in a few of such as were most addicted to this party; whose resolutions and determinations were brought to the table for countenance and execution, and not for debate and deliberation; and no man could offer to oppose them, without disgrace and hazard to himself: nay, all those that did not wholly concur, and actively contribute to the furtherance of their designs, though otherwise persons of never so great honor and abilities, were so far from being employed in any place of trust and power, that they were neglected, discountenanced, and upon all occasions injured and oppressed. This faction was grown to that height and entireness of power, that now they began to think of finishing their work, which consisted of these three parts:

1. The Government must be set free from all restraint of Laws concerning our persons and states.

2. There must be a Conjunction betwixt Papists and Protestants in Doctrine, Discipline, and Ceremonies; only it must not yet be called Popery.

3. The *Puritans*, under which name they include all those that desire to preserve the Laws and Liberties of the kingdom, and to maintain Religion in the power of it, must be either rooted out of the kingdom with force, or driven out with fear. For the effecting of this, it was thought necessary to reduce *Scotland* to such Popish Superstitions and Innovations as might make them apt to join with *England* in the great change which was intended. Whereupon new Canons, and a new Liturgy were prest upon them; and when they refused to admit of them

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them, an army was raised to force them to it; towards which the Clergy and the Papists were very forward in their contribution. The *Scots* likewise raised an Army for their defence: and when both Armies were come together, and ready for a bloody encounter, his Majesty's own gracious disposition, and the Counsel of the English nobility, and dutiful submission of the Scots, did so far prevail against the evil counsel of others, that a Pacification was made, and his Majesty returned with Peace and much Honor to London.

The unexpected Reconciliation was most acceptable to all the kingdom, except to the malignant party, whereof the Archbishop and the Earl of Strafford being heads, they and their faction begun to inveigh against the Peace, and to aggravate the proceedings of the States; which so incensed his Majesty, that he forthwith prepared again for war. And such was their confidence, that having corrupted and distempered the whole frame and government of the Kingdom, they did now hope to corrupt that which was the only means to restore all to a right frame and temper again; to which end they persuaded his Majesty to call a Parliament; not to seek counsel and advice of them; but to draw countenance and supply from them, and engage the whole kingdom in their quarrel; and in the mean time continued all their unjust levies of money; resolving either to make the Parliament pliant to their will, and to establish mischief by a law, or else to break it. And with more color to go on by violence to take what they could not obtain by consent, the ground alledged for the justification of this War, was his;

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That the undutiful demands of the Parliament of Scotland was a sufficient reason for his Majesty to take arms against them, without hearing the reason of those demands: and thereupon a new Army was prepared against them; their ships were seized in all ports both of England and Ireland, and at sea; their Petitioners rejected, their Commissioners refused audience; this whole kingdom most miserably distempered with levies of men and money, and imprisonments of those who denied to submit to those levies. The Earl of Strafford passed into Ireland, caused the Parliament there to declare against the Scots, to give four Subsidies towards that War; and to engage themselves, their lives and fortunes, for the prosecution of it; and gave directions for an Army of Eight thousand foot, and One thousand horse, to be levied there, which were for the most part Papists. The Parliament met upon the 13th of April, 1640. The Earl of Strafford, and Archbishop of Canterbury, with their party, so prevailed with his Majesty, that the House of Commons was prest to yield to a Supply for maintenance of the War with Scotland, before they had provided any relief for the great and pressing grievances of the People; which being against the fundamental privilege and proceeding of Parliament, was yet in humble respect to his Majesty so far admitted, as that they agreed to take the matter of Supply into consideration; and two several days it was debated. Twelve Subsidies were demanded for the release of Ship-money alone; a third day was appointed for conclusion; when the Heads of that Party begun to fear the People might close with the King in satisfying his desire of money; but that withal they were like to blast

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blast their malicious designs against Scotland, finding them very much indisposed to give any countenance to that war;

Thereupon they wickedly advised the King to break off the Parliament, and to return to the ways of confusion, in which their own evil intentions were most like to prosper and succeed.

After the Parliament ended the fifth of May, 1640, this Party grew so bold, as to counsel the King to supply himself out of his subjects' estates by his own power, at his own will, without their consent. The very next day some Members of both Houses had their studies and cabinets, yea their pockets searched: another of them, not long after, was committed close prisoner, for not delivering some petitions which he received by authority of that House: and if harsher courses were intended (as was reported) it is very probable that the sickness of the Earl of Strafford, and the tumultuous rising in Southwark, and about Lambeth, were the causes that such violent intentions were not brought to execution. A false and scandalous Declaration against the House of Commons, was published in his Majesty's name, which yet wrought little effect with the people, but only to manifest the impudence of those who were authors of it.

A forced loan of money was attempted in the City of London.

The Lord Mayor and Aldermen in their several wards enjoined to bring in a list of the names of such persons as they judged fit to lend, and of the sum they should lend. And such Aldermen as refused so to do, were committed to prison.

The Archbishop and the other Bishops and Clergy continued the Convocation, and by a

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new-Commission turned it to a Provincial Synod; in which, by an unheard-of presumption, they made Canons that contain in them many matters contrary to the King's Prerogative, to the fundamental Laws and Statutes of the realm, to the Right of Parliaments, to the property and liberty of the subject, and matters tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence, thereby establishing their own usurpations, justifying their Altar-Worship, and those other superstitious innovations, which they formerly introduced without warrant of law.

They imposed a new oath upon divers of his Majesty's subjects, both Ecclesiastical and Lay, for maintenance of their own tyranny; and laid a great tax upon the Clergy for supply of his Majesty; and generally they shewed themselves very affectionate to the war with Scotland, which was by some of them stiled *Bellum Episcopale;* and a prayer composed, and enjoined to be read in all churches, calling the Scots Rebels, to put the two nations into blood, and make them irreconcilable. All those pretended Canons and Constitutions were armed with the several Censures of Suspension, Excommunication, Deprivation, by which they would have thrust out all the good Ministers and most of the well-affected People of the kingdom, and left an easy passage to their own design of reconciliation with Rome. The Popish Party enjoined such exemptions from the Penal Laws, as amounted to a Toleration, besides many other encouragements and Court-favors: they had a Secretary of State, Sir Francis Windebank, a powerful agent for the speeding of all their desires; a Pope's Nuncio residing here to act and govern them according to such influences as he received from Rome, and

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and to intercede for them with the most powerful concurrence of the Foreign Princes of that Religion: by his authority the Papists of all sorts, Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, were convocated after the manner of a Parliament; new jurisdictions were erected of Romish Archbishops. Taxes levied, another state moulded within this State, independent in Government, contrary in interest and affection, secretly corrupting the ignorant or negligent Professors of our Religion, and closely uniting and combining themselves against such as were found, in this posture waiting for an opportunity by force to destroy those whom they could not hope to seduce. For the effecting whereof, they were strengthened with arms and munition, encouraged by superstitious prayers, enjoined by the Nuncio to be weekly made, for the prosperity of some great design. And such power had they at Court, that secretly a Commission was issued out, intended to be issued to some great men of that profession, for the levying of soldiers, and to command and employ them according to private instructions, which we doubt were framed for the advantage of those who were the contrivers of them: his Majesty's treasure was consumed, his Revenue anticipated; his Servants and Officers compelled to lend great sums of money: multitudes were called to the Council-Table, who were tired with long attendances there, for refusing illegal payments. The prisons were filled with their commitments; many of the Sheriffs summoned into the Star-Chamber, and some imprisoned, for not being quick enough in levying the Ship money; the people languished under grief and fear, no visible hope being left, but in desperation. The Nobility

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lity began to be weary of their silence and patience, and sensible of the duty and trust which belongs to them; and thereupon some of the most eminent of them did petition his Majesty at such a time when evil counsels were so strong, that they had reason to expect more hazard to themselves, than redress of those public evils for which they interceded. Whilst the kingdom was in this agitation and distemper, the Scots, restrained in their trades, impoverished by the loss of many of their ships, bereaved of all possibility of satisfying his Majesty by any naked supplication, entered with a powerful army into the kingdom; and without any hostile act or spoil in the country as they passed, more than forcing a passage over the Tyne at Newborne, near Newcastle, possessed themselves of Newcastle; and had a fair opportunity to press on further upon the King's Army, but duty and reverence to his Majesty, and brotherly love to the English nation, made them stay there; whereby the King had leisure to entertain better counsels; wherein God so blessed and directed him, that he summoned the Great Council of Peers to meet at York upon the 24th of September, and there declared a Parliament to begin the Third of November then following. The Scots, the first day of the great Council, presented an humble Petition to his Majesty, whereupon the Treaty was appointed at Rippon; a present cessation of arms agreed upon; and the full conclusion of all differences referred to the wisdom and care of the Parliament. At our first meeting all oppositions seemed to vanish; the mischiefs were so evident which those evil counsellors produced, that no man durst stand up to defend them. Yet the work itself

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itself afforded difficulty enough. The multiplied evils and corruption of sixteen years, strengthened by custom and authority, and the concurrent interests of many powerful delinquents, were now to be brought to judgment and reformation. The King's Household was to be provided for; they had brought him to that want, that he could not supply his ordinary and necessary expenses, without the assistance of his people. Two armies were to be paid, which amounted very near to eighty thousand pounds a month; the people were to be tenderly charged, having been formerly exhausted with many burthensome projects.

The difficulties seemed to be insuperable, which by the Divine Providence we have overcome. The contrarieties incompatible, which yet in a great measure we have reconciled. Six Subsidies have been granted, and a Bill of Poll-money; which if it be duly levied, may equal Six Subsidies more, in all Six hundred thousand pounds. Besides, we have contracted a debt to the Scots, of Two hundred and twenty thousand pounds; and yet God hath so blessed the endeavours of this Parliament, that the kingdom is a great gainer by all these charges. The Ship-money is abolished, which cost the kingdom above two hundred thousand pounds a year. The Coat and Conduct-money, and other military charges, are taken away, which in many counties amounted to little less than the Ship-money. The monopolies are all suppresst, whereof some few did prejudice the subject above a million yearly. The soap an hundred thousand pounds; the wine three hundred thousand pounds; the leather must needs exceed both; and salt could be no less than that; besides

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besides the inferior monopolies, which if they could be exactly computed, would make up a great sum. That which is more beneficial than all this, that the root of those evils is taken away, which was, the Arbitrary Power pretended to be in his Majesty, of taxing the subject, or charging their estates without consent of Parliament, which is now declared to be against law, by the judgment of both Houses, and likewise by an Act of Parliament. Another step of great advantage is this; the living grievances, the evil counsellors and actors of these mischiefs have been so quelled by the justice done upon the Earl of Strafford, the flight of the Lord Finch and Secretary Windebank; the accusation and imprisonment of the Archbishop of Canterbury, of Judge Bartlet, and the impeachment of divers other Bishops and Judges; that it is like not only to be an ease to the present times, but a preservation to the future. The discontinuance of Parliaments is prevented by the bill for a Triennial Parliament, and the abrupt dissolution of this Parliament by another Bill, by which it is provided it shall not be dissolved or adjourned, without the consent of both Houses.

Which two Laws well considered, may be thought more advantageous than all the former, because they secure a full operation of the present remedy, and afford a perpetual spring of remedies for the future. The Star-Chamber, the High-Commission, the Courts of the President, and Council in the North, were so many forges of misery, oppression, and violence, and are all taken away, whereby men are more secured in their persons, liberties and estates, than they could be by any law or example for the regulation of those Courts, or terror of the Judges; the

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the immoderate power of the Council-Table, and the excessive abuse of that power, is so ordered and restrained, that we may well hope that no such things as were frequently done by them, to the prejudice of the public liberty, will appear in future times but only in stories, to give us and our posterity more occasion to praise God for his Majesty's goodness, and the faithful endeavours of the Parliament. The Canons and the power of Canon-making, are blasted by the vote of both Houses. The exorbitant power of Bishops and their Courts are much abated, by some provisions in the Bill against the High-Commission Court. The authors of the many innovations in Doctrine and Ceremonies; the Ministers that have been scandalous in their lives, have been so terrified in just complaints and accusations, that we may well hope they will be more modest for the time to come; either inwardly convicted by the sight of their own folly, or outwardly restrained by the fear of punishment. The forests are by a good law reduced to their right bounds; the encroachments and oppressions of the Stannery Courts; the extortions of the Clerk of the Market, and the compulsion of the subject to receive the Order of Knighthood against his will, paying of fines for not receiving it, and the vexatious proceedings thereupon for levying of those fines, are by other beneficial laws reformed and prevented. Many excellent laws and provisions are in preparation for removing the inordinate power, vexation, and usurpation of Bishops, for reforming the pride and idleness of many of the Clergy, for easing the people of unnecessary Ceremonies in Religion, for censuring and removing unworthy and unprofitable Ministers; and

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and for maintaining godly and diligent Preachers through the kingdom; other things of main importance for the good of this kingdom are in proposition, though little could hitherto be done, in regard of the many other more pressing businesses, which yet before the end of this session we hope may receive some progress and perfection. The establishing and ordering the King's Revenue, that so the abuse of Officers, and superfluity of expenses may be cut off, and the necessary disbursements for his Majesty's honor, the defence and government of the kingdom, may be more certainly provided for. The regulating of Courts of Justice, and abridging both the delays and charges of Law-suits; the settling of some good courses for preventing the exportation of Gold and Silver, and the inequality of exchanges betwixt us and other nations, for the advancing of native commodities, increase of our manufactures, and well ballancing of trade, whereby the stock of the kingdom may be increased or at least kept from impairing; as through neglect hereof it hath done for many years last past; for improving the Herring-Fishing upon our own coasts, which will be of mighty use in the employment of the poor, and a plentiful nursery of mariners for enabling the kingdom in any great action. The oppositions, obstructions, and other difficulties wherewith we have been encountered and which still lie in our way with some strength and much obstinacy are these: the malignant Party whom we have formerly described to be the actors and promoters of all our misery, they have taken heart again; they have been able to prefer some of their own factors and agents to degrees of honor, to places of trust and employment, even during

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during the Parliament. They have endeavoured to work in his Majesty ill impressions and opinions of our proceedings, as if we had altogether done our own work, and not his; and had obtained from him many things very prejudicial to the Crown, both in respect of Prerogative and profit. To wipe out this slander, we think good only to say thus much; that all that we have done, is for his Majesty, his Greatness, Honor, and Support. When we yielded to give Twenty-five thousand pounds a month for the relief of the Northern Countries, this was given to the King, for he was bound to protect his subjects: they were his Majesty's evil counsellors, and their ill instruments that were actors in those grievances which brought in the Scots. And if his Majesty please to force those who were the authors of this war, to make satisfaction, as he might justly and easily do, it seems very reasonable that the People might well be excused from taking upon them this burthen, being altogether innocent and free from being any causes of it.

When we undertook the charge of the Army, which cost above 50,000*l.* a month, was not this given to the King? Was it not his Majesty's Army? Were not all the Commanders under contract with his Majesty at higher rates and greater wages than ordinary? And have not we taken upon us to discharge all the brotherly assistance of Three hundred thousand pounds which we gave the Scots? Was it not toward repair of those damages and losses which they received from the King's Ships, and from his Ministers? These three particulars amount to above Eleven hundred thousand pounds: besides, his Majesty hath received by Impositions upon

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upon Merchandise, at least Four hundred thousand pounds; so that his Majesty hath had out of the subjects purse since the Parliament began, one Million and an half; and yet these men can be so impudent, as to tell his Majesty that we have done nothing for him. As to the second branch of this slander, we acknowledge with much thankfulness, that his Majesty hath passed more good Bills to the advantage of the subjects, that have been in many ages; but withal we cannot forget that these venomous Counsels did manifest themselves in some endeavours to hinder these good Acts; and for both Houses of Parliament we may with truth and modesty say thus much, that we have ever been careful not to desire any thing that should *weaken the Crown, either in just profit or useful power.* The triennial Parliament, for the matter of it, doth not extend to so much as by Law we ought to have required; there being two Statutes still in force for a Parliament to be once a year; and for the manner of it, it is in the King's power, that it shall never take effect, if he by a timely summons shall prevent any other way of assembling. In the Bill for continuance of this present Parliament, there seems to be some restraint of the Royal Power in dissolving of Parliaments, not to take it out of the Crown, but to suspend the execution of it for this time and occasion only, which was so necessary for the King's own security, and the public peace, that without it we could not have undertaken any of these great charges, but must have left both the Armies to disorder and confusion, and the whole kingdom to blood and rapine. The Star-Chamber was much more fruitful in oppression than in profit, the great fines being for the most part given away,

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away, and the rest stalled at long times. The fines of the High-Commission were in themselves unjust, and seldom or never came into the King's Purse. These four Bills are particularly and more specially instanced; in the rest there will not be found so much as a shadow of prejudice to the Crown. They have sought to diminish our reputation with the people, and to bring them out of love with Parliaments; the aspersions which they have attempted this way, have been such as these, that we have spent much time and done little, especially in those grievances which concern Religion. That the Parliament is a burthen to the kingdom by the abundance of Protections, which hinder justice and trade; and by many subsidies granted, much more heavy than any they formerly endured. To which there is a ready answer, If the time spent in this Parliament be considered in relation backward to the long growth and deep root of those grievances which we have removed, to the powerful supports of those delinquents which we have pursued, to the great necessities and other charges of the Commonwealth for which we have provided: or if it be considered in relation forward, to many advantages which not only the present, but future ages are like to reap by the good Laws and other proceedings in this Parliament, we doubt not but it will be thought by all indifferent judgments, that our time hath been much better employed than in a far greater proportion of time in many former Parliaments put together; and the charges which have been laid upon the subject, and the other inconveniences which they have born, will seem very light in respect of the benefit they have and may receive. And

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for the matter of Protections, the Parliament is so sensible of it, that therein they intend to give them whatsoever ease may stand with honor and justice; and are in a way of passing a Bill to give them satisfaction. They have sought by many subtile practices, to cause jealousies and divisions betwixt us and our brethren of Scotland, by slandering their proceedings and intentions towards us, and by secret endeavours to instigate and incense them and us one against another. They have had such a party of Bishops and Popish Lords in the House of Peers, as hath caused much opposition and delay in the prosecution of delinquents, hindred the proceeding of divers good Bills passed in the Commons House, concerning the reformation of sundry great abuses and corruptions both in Church and State. They have laboured to seduce and corrupt some of the Commons' House, to draw them into conspiracies and combinations against the liberty of the Parliament: and by their instruments and agents they have attempted to disaffect and discontent his Majesty's Army, and to engage it for the maintenance of their wicked and traiterous designs, the keeping up of Bishops in votes and functions, and by force to compel the Parliament to order, limit and dispose their proceedings in such manner as might best concur with the intentions of this dangerous and potent faction: and when one mischievous design and attempt of theirs to bring on the Army against the Parliament and the City of London, had been discovered and prevented, they presently undertook another of the same damnable nature, with this addition to it, to endeavour to make the Scottish Army neutral, whilst the English Army which they had laboured to corrupt and in-

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invenome against us by their false and slanderous suggestions, should execute their malice to the subversion of our Religion, and the dissolution of our Government. Thus they have been continually practising to disturb the peace, and plotting the destruction even of all the King's dominions, and have employed their emissaries and agents in them, all for the promoting of their devilish designs, which the vigilancy of those who were well affected hath still discovered and defeated before they were ripe for execution in England and Scotland; only in Ireland, which was farther off, they have had time and opportunity to mould and prepare their work, and had brought it to that perfection that they had possessed themselves of that whole kingdom, totally subverted the Government of it, rooted out Religion, and destroyed all the Protestants whom the conscience of their duty to God, their King and Country, would not have permitted to join with them, if by God's wonderful providence their main enterprise upon the City and Castle of Dublin had not been detected and prevented upon the very eve before it should have been executed. Notwithstanding, they have in other parts of that kingdom broken out into open rebellion, surprised towns and castles, committed murders, rapes, and other villanies, and shaken off all bonds of obedience to his Majesty, and the laws of the realm; and in general have kindled such a fire, as nothing but God's infinite blessing upon the wisdom and endeavours of this state will be able to quench it: and certainly had not God in his great mercy unto this land discovered and confounded their former designs, we had been the prologue to this tragedy in Ireland, and had by this time been made the

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lamentable spectacle of misery and confusion. And now what hope have we but in God? When as the only means of our subsistence, and power of reformation is, under him, in the Parliament; but what can we, the Commons, without the conjunction of the House of Lords, and what conjunction can we expect there, when the Bishops and recusant Lords are so numerous and prevalent, that they are able to cross and interrupt our best endeavours for reformation, and by that means give advantage to this malignant party to traduce our proceedings? They infuse into the People, that we mean to abolish all Church-government, and leave every man to his own fancy for the service and worship of God, absolving him of that obedience which he owes under God unto his Majesty, whom we know to be intrusted with the Ecclesiastical Law as well as with the Temporal, to regulate all the members of the Church of England, by such rules of order and discipline as are established by Parliament, which is his great Counsel in all affairs both in Church and State. We confess our intention is, and our endeavours have been, to reduce within bounds that exorbitant power which the Prelates have assumed unto themselves, so contrary both to the Word of God and to the Laws of the Land; to which end we past the Bill for the removing them from their temporal power and employments, that so the better they might with meekness apply themselves to the discharge of their functions; which Bill themselves opposed, and were the principal instruments of crossing it.

And we do here declare, That it is far from our purpose or desire to let loose the golden reins of discipline, and government in the Church, to

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to leave private persons or particular Congregations to take up what form of Divine Service they please; for we hold it requisite that there should be throughout the whole realm a conformity to that order which the laws enjoin, according to the Word of God: and we desire to unburthen the consciences of men, of needless and superstitious ceremonies, suppress innovations, and take away the monuments of Idolatory. And the better to effect the intended reformation, we desire there may be a general synod of the most grave, pious, learned and judicious Divines of this island, assisted with some from foreign parts professing the same Religion with us, who may consider of all things necessary for the peace and good government of the Church, and represent the results of their consultations unto the Parliament, to be there allowed of and confirmed, and receive the stamp of authority, thereby to find passage and obedience throughout the kingdom. They have maliciously charged us that we intend to destroy and discourage Learning; whereas it is our chiefest care and desire to advance it, and to provide a competent maintenance for conscionable and preaching Ministers throughout the kingdom; which will be a great encouragement to Scholars, and a certain means whereby the want, meanness, and ignorance, to which a great part of the Clergy is now subject, will be prevented. And we intend likewise to reform and purge the fountains of Learning, the two Universities, that the streams flowing from thence may be clear and pure, and an honor and comfort to the whole land. They have strained to blast our proceedings in Parliament, by wresting the interpretations of our orders from their genuine

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intention. They tell the people that our medling with the power of Episcopacy, hath caused Sectaries and Conventicles; when Idolatry and Popish Ceremonies introduced into the Church by the command of the Bishops, have not only debarred the people from thence, but expelled them from the kingdom. Thus with Elijah we are called by this malignant party the troublers of the State; and still while we endeavour to reform their abuses, they make us the authors of those mischiefs we study to prevent. For the perfecting of the work begun, and removing all future impediments, we conceive these courses will be very effectual, seeing the Religion of the Papists hath such principles as do certainly tend to the destruction and extirpation of all Protestants when they shall have opportunity to effect it.

It is necessary in the first place to keep them in such condition, as that they may not be able to do us any hurt, and for avoiding of such connivance and favor as hath heretofore been shewed unto them. That his Majesty be pleased to grant a standing Commission to some choice men named in Parliament, who may take notice of their increase, their counsels and proceedings; and use all due means by execution of the laws, to prevent any mischievous designs against the peace and safety of this kingdom. That some good course be taken to discover the counterfeit and false conformity of Papists to the Church; by colour whereof persons very much disaffected to the true Religion have been admitted into places of greatest authority and trust in the kingdom.

For the better preservation of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, that all illegal grievances

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vances and exactions be presented and punished at the Sessions and Assizes; and that Judges and Justices be careful to give this in charge to the Grand Jury, and both the Sheriff and Justices to be sworn to the due execution of the Petition of Right and other Laws: that his Majesty be humbly petitioned by both Houses to employ such Counsellors, Ambassadors, and other Ministers, in managing his business at home and abroad, as the Parliament may have cause to confide in; without which we cannot give his Majesty such supplies for support of his own estate, nor such assistance to the Protestant Party beyond the sea, as is desired. It may often fall out that the Commons may have just cause to take exceptions at some men for being Counsellors, and yet not charge those men with crimes, for there be grounds of diffidence which lye not in proof; there are others which though they may be proved, yet are not legally criminal. To be a known favourer of Papists, or to have been very forward in defending or countenancing some great offenders questioned in Parliament; or to speak contemptuously of either Houses of Parliament, or Parliamentary proceedings; or such as are factors or agents for any foreign Prince of another Religion; such as are justly suspected to get Counsellor's places, or any other of trust concerning public employments, for money: for all these and divers others we may have great reason to be earnest with his Majesty not to put his great affairs into such hands, though we may be unwilling to proceed against them in any legal way of charge or impeachment. That all Counsellors of State may be sworn to observe those Laws which concern the subject in his liberty; that they may

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likewise take an oath not to receive or give reward or pension from any Foreign Prince, but such as they within some reasonable time discover to the Lords of his Majesty's Council: and although they should wickedly forswear themselves, yet it may herein do good to make them known to be false and perjured to those who employ them, and thereby bring them into as little credit with them as with us. That his Majesty may have cause to be in love with good counsel and good men, by shewing him in an humble and dutiful manner, how full of advantage it would be to himself, to see his own estate settled in a plentiful condition to support his honor, to see his People united in ways of duty to him, and endeavours of the public good; to see happiness, wealth, peace, and safety, derived to his own kingdom, and procured to his Allies, by the influence of his own power and government. That all good courses may be taken to unite the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland, to be mutually aiding and assisting one another for the common good of the island, and honor of both. To take away all differences amongst ourselves for matters indifferent in their own nature concerning Religion, and to unite ourselves against the common enemies, which are the better enabled by our divisions to destroy us all, as they hope and have often endeavoured. To labor by all offices of friendship to unite the foreign Churches with us in the same cause, and to seek their liberty, safety, and prosperity, as bound thereunto both by charity to them, and by wisdom for our own good. For by this means our own strength shall be encreased, and by a mutual concurrence to the same common end, we shall be enabled to procure the good of the whole

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whole body of the Protestant profession. If these things may be observed, we doubt not but God will crown this Parliament with such success as shall be the beginning and foundation of more honor and happiness to his Majesty, than ever yet was enjoyed by any of his Royal Predecessors.

His Majesty's Answer to the Petition which accompanied the Declaration presented to him at Hampton-Court, Dec. 1, 1641.

We having received from you soon after our return out of Scotland, a long Petition, consisting of many desires of great moment; together with a Declaration of a very unusual nature annexed thereunto; we had taken some time to consider of it, as befitted us in a manner of that consequence, being confident, that your own reason and regard to us, as well as our express intimation by our Comptroller to that purpose, would have restrained you from the publishing of it, till such time as you should have received our Answer to it: but, much against our expectation, finding the contrary, that the said Declaration is already abroad in print, by directions from your House, as appears by the printed copy; we must let you know, that we are very sensible of the disrespect. Notwithstanding, it is our intention, that no failing on your part, shall make us fail in ours, of giving all due satisfaction to the desires of our People in a Parliamentary way; and therefore we send you this Answer to your Petition, reserving ourself in point

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point of the Declaration, which we think unparliamentary, and shall take a course to do that which we shall think fit in prudence and honor.

To the Petition we say, that although there are divers things in the Preamble of it, which we are so far from admitting, that we profess we cannot at all understand them, as, "Of a wicked "and malignant party prevalent in the Govern- "ment; Of some of that party admitted to our "Privy Council, and to other employments of "trust, and nearest to Us and our Children; "Of endeavours to sow among the People false "scandals and imputations, to blemish and dis- "grace the proceedings of the Parliament:" all, or any of which, did we know of, we should be as ready to remedy and punish, as you to complain of. That the prayers of your Petition are grounded upon such premises as we must in no wise admit; yet notwithstanding we are pleased to give this answer to you.

To the first, concerning Religion, consisting of several branches, we say, That for the preserving the peace and safety of this kingdom from the designs of the Popish party, we have, and will still concur with all the just desires of our people in a Parliamentary way. That for the depriving of the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament, we would have you consider, that their right is grounded upon the fundamental law of the kingdom, and constitution of Parliament. This we would have you consider; but since you desire our concurrence herein in a Parliamentary way, we will give no further answer at this time. As for the abridging of the inordinate power of the Clergy, we conceive that the taking away of the High-Commission Court

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Court hath well moderated that; but if there continue any usurpations, or excesses in their jurisdictions, we therein neither have nor will protect them.

Unto that clause which concerneth Corruptions (as you stile them) in Religion, in Church-Government, and in Discipline, and the removing of such unnecessary ceremonies as weak consciences might cheque at; that for any illegal innovations, which may have crept in, we shall willingly concur in the removal of them. That if our Parliament shall advise us to call a National Synod, which may duly examine such ceremonies as give just cause of offence to any, we shall take it into consideration, and apply ourself to give due satisfaction therein: but we are very sorry to hear in such general terms, corruption in Religion objected, since we are persuaded in our conscience that no Church can be found upon the earth that professeth the true Religion with more purity of doctrine than the Church of England doth, nor where the Government and discipline are jointly more beautified, and free from superstition, than as they are here established by law; which (by the grace of God) we will with constancy maintain (while we live) in their purity and glory, not only against all invasions of Popery, but also from the irreverence of those many Schismatics and Separatists, wherewith of late this kingdom and this city abounds, to the great dishonor and hazard both of Church and State? for the suppression of whom we require your timely aid and active assistance.

To the second prayer of the Petition, concerning the removal and choice of Counsellors, we know not any of our Council to whom the character set forth in the Petition can belong.

That

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That by those whom we had exposed to trial, we have already given you sufficient testimony, that there is no man so near unto us in place or affection, whom we will not leave to the justice of the law, if you shall bring a particular charge and sufficient proofs against him; and of this we do again assure you: but in the mean time we wish you to forbear such general aspersions as may reflect upon all our Council, since you name none in particular.

That for the choice of our Counsellors and Ministers of State, it were to debar us that natural liberty all freemen have; and it is the undoubted right of the Crown of England to call such persons to our secret councils, to public employment, and our particular service, as we shall think fit; so we are, and ever shall be very careful to make election of such persons in those places of trust, as shall have given good testimonies of their abilities and integrity, and against whom there can be no just cause of exception, whereon reasonably to ground a diffidence; and to choices of this nature, we assure you that the mediation of the nearest unto us hath always concurred.

To the third prayer of your Petition, concerning Ireland, we understand your desire of not alienating the forfeited lands thereof, to proceed from your much care and love; and likewise that it may be a resolution very fit for us to take; but whether it be reasonable to declare resolutions of that nature before the events of a war be seen, that we much doubt of. However, we cannot but thank you for this care, and your cheerful engagement for the suppression of that rebellion; upon the speedy effecting thereof the glory of God in the Protestant pro-

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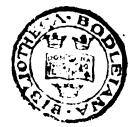
profession, the safety of the British there, our honor, and that of the nation so much depends; all the interests of this kingdom being so involved in that business, we cannot but quicken your affections therein, and shall desire you to frame your councils, and to give such expedition to the work, as the nature thereof, and the pressures in point of time require, and whereof you are put in mind by the daily insolence and encrease of those rebels.

For conclusion, your promise to apply yourselves to such courses as may support our Royal Estate with honor and plenty at home, and with power and reputation abroad, is that which we have ever promised ourself, both from your loyalties and affections, and also for what we have already done, and shall daily go adding unto for the comfort and happiness of our people.



His Majesty's Declaration to all his loving Subjects. Published with the advice of His Privy Council.

ALTHOUGH we do not believe that our House of Commons intended, by their Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, to put us to any apology either for our past or present actions; notwithstanding, since they have thought it so very necessary (upon their observation of the present distemper) to publish the same, for the satisfaction of all our loving subjects, we have thought it very suitable to the duty of our place (with which God hath trusted us) to do our part to so good a work; in which we shall not think

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think it below our kingly dignity to descend to any particular, which may compose and settle the affections of our meanest subjects; since we are so conscious to ourself of such upright intentions and endeavours, and only of such (for which we give God thanks) for the peace and happiness of our kingdom, in which the prosperity of our subjects must be included, that we wish from our heart, that even our most secret thoughts were published to their view and examination. Though we must confess we cannot but be very sorry in this conjoncture of time (when the unhappiness of this kingdom is so generally understood abroad) there should be such a necessity of publishing so many particulars, from which, we pray, no inconveniences may ensue that were not intended.

We shall in few words pass over that part of the narrative, wherein the misfortunes of this kingdom from our first entering to the Crown to the beginning of this Parliament, are remembered in so sensible expressions; and that other which acknowledgeth the many good laws passed by our grace and favor this Parliament for the security of our people; of which we shall only say thus much, that as we have not refused to pass any Bill presented to us by our Parliament, for redress of those grievances mentioned in the remonstrance, so we have not had a greater motive for the passing of those laws than our own resolution (grounded upon our observation, and understanding the state of our kingdom) to have freed our subjects for the future from those pressures which were grievous to them, if those laws had not been propounded; which therefore we shall as inviolably maintain, as we look to have our own Rights preserved; not

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not doubting but all our loving subjects will look on those remedies with that full gratitude and affection, that even the memory of what they had formerly undergone by the accidents and necessities of those times, will not be unpleasant to them; and possibly in a pious sense of God's blessing upon this nation (how little share soever we shall have of the acknowledgment) they will confess they have enjoyed a great measure of happiness (even the last sixteen years) both in peace and plenty, not only comparatively in respect of their neighbours, but even of those times which were justly accounted fortunate.

The fears and jealousies which may make some impression in the minds of our people, we will suppose may be of two sorts; either for Religion, or Liberty, and their civil interests. The fears for Religion may haply be, not only as ours here established may be invaded by the Romish party, but as it is accompanied with some ceremonies, at which some tender consciences really are, or pretend to be, scandalized; for of any other which have been used without any legal warrant or injunction, and already are, or speedily may be abolished, we shall not speak.

Concerning Religion, as there may be any suspicion of favor or inclination to the Papists, we are willing to declare to all the world, that as we have been from our childhood brought up in, and practised the Religion now established in this kingdom, so it is well known, we have (not contented simply with the principles of our education) given a good proportion of our time and pains to the examination of the grounds of this religion, as it is different from that of Rome,

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Rome, and are from our soul so fully satisfied and assured, that it is the most pure and agreeable to the sacred Word of God, of any Religion now practised in the Christian world; that as we believe we can maintain the same by unanswerable reasons, so we hope we should *readily seal to it by the effusion of our blood, if it pleased God to call us to that sacrifice.* And therefore nothing can be so acceptable unto us, as any proposition which may contribute to the advancement of it here, or the propagation of it abroad; being the only means to draw down a blessing from God upon ourselves and this nation. And we have been extremely unfortunate, if this profession of ours be wanting to our people: our constant practice in our own person having always been (without ostentation) as much to the evidence of our care and duty herein as we could possibly tell how to express.

For differences amongst ourselves, for matters indifferent in their own nature, concerning Religion, we shall, in tenderness to any number of our loving subjects, very willingly comply with the advice of our Parliament; that some law may be made for the exemptions of tender consciences from punishment, or prosecution for such ceremonies, and in such cases which by the judgment of most men, are held to be matters indifferent, and of some to be absolutely unlawful. Provided that this ease be attempted, and pursued with that modesty, temper, and submission, that in the mean time the peace and quiet of the kingdom be not disturbed, the decency, and comeliness of God's service discountenanced, nor the pious, sober, and devout actions of those reverend persons, who were the first favorers in the blessed Reformation, or of that time, be scan-

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scandaled and defamed. For we cannot without grief of heart, and without some tax upon ourself and our Ministers, for the not execution of our laws, look upon the bold license of some men, in printing of pamphlets, in preaching and printing of sermons, so full of bitterness and malice against the present government, against the laws established; so full of sedition against ourself, and the peace of the kingdom; that we are many times amazed to consider by what eyes these things are seen, and by what ears they are heard: and therefore we have good cause to command, as we have done, and hereby do, all our Judges and Ministers of Justice, our Attorney and Solicitor-General, and the rest of our learned Council, to proceed with all speed against such, and their abettors, who either by writing or words, have so boldly and maliciously violated the laws, disturbed the peace of the Commonwealth; and, as much as in them lies, shaken the very foundation upon which the peace and happiness is founded and constituted. And we doubt not but all our loving subjects will be very sensible that this busy, virulent demeanor is a fit prologue to nothing but confusion; and if not very seasonably punished and prevented, will not only be a blemish to that wholesome accommodation we intend, but an unspeakable scandal and imputation, even upon the profession and Religion of this our kingdom of England.

Concerning the Civil Liberties and interests of our subjects, we shall need to say the less, having erected so many lasting monuments of our princely and fatherly care of our people, in those many excellent laws passed by us this Parliament, which in truth (with very much

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content to ourself) we conceive to be so large and ample, that very many sober men have very little left to wish for.

We understood well the right, and pretences of right, we departed from in the consenting to the bills of the Triennial Parliament, for the continuance of this present Parliament, and in the preamble to the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage; the matter of which having begot so many disturbances in late Parliaments, we are willing to remove, that no interest of our's might hereafter break that correspondence; abundantly contenting ourself with an assurance (which we still have) that we should be repaired and supplied by a just proportion of confidence, bounty, and obedience of our people. In the bills for the taking away the High-Commission and Star-Chamber Courts, we believed we had given that real satisfaction, that all jealousies and apprehensions of arbitrary pressures under the Civil or Ecclesiastical state, would easily have been abandoned, especially when they saw all possible doubts secured by the visitation of a triennial Parliament.

These, and others of no mean consideration, we had rather should be valued in the hearts and affections of our people, than in any mention of our own; not doubting but as we have taken all these occasions to render their condition most comfortable and happy, so they will always in a grateful and dutiful relation, be ready with equal tenderness and alacrity, to advance our rights, and preserve our honor, upon which their own security and subsistence so much depends. And we will be so careful, that no particular shall be presented unto us for the completing and establishing that security, to which we will not with

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the same readiness contribute our best assistance.

If these resolutions be the effects of our present councils, (and we take God to witness that they are such, and that all our loving subjects may confidently expect the benefit of them from us) certainly no ill design upon the public can accompany such Resolutions; neither will there be greater cause of suspicion of any persons preferred by us to degrees of honor and places of trust and employment since this Parliament. And we must confess, that among our misfortunes, we reckon it not the least, that having not retained in our service, nor protected any one person, against whom our Parliament hath excepted during the whole sitting of it, and having in all that time scarce vouchsafed to any man an instance of our grace and favor, but to such who were under such eminent characters of estimation amongst our people, there should so soon be any misunderstanding or jealousy of their fidelity and uprightness; especially in a time when we take all occasions to declare, that we conceive ourself only capable of being served by honest men, and in honest ways. However, if in truth we have been mistaken in such our election, the particular shall be no sooner discovered to us, either by our own observation, or other certain information, than we will leave them to public justice under the marks of our displeasure.

If, notwithstanding this, any malignant party shall take heart, and be willing to sacrifice the peace and happiness of their country to their own sinister ends and ambitions, under what pretence of religion and conscience soever; if they shall endeavour to lessen our reputation and

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interest, and to weaken our lawful power and authority with our good subjects; if they shall go about by discountenancing the present laws to loosen the bonds of government, that all disorder and confusion may break in upon us, we doubt not but God in his good time will discover them unto us, and the wisdom and courage of our High Court of Parliament join with us in their suppression and punishment.

Having now said all that we can to express the clearness and uprightness of our intentions to our People, and done all we can to manifest those intentions, we cannot but confidently believe all our good subjects will acknowledge our part to be fully performed, both in deeds past, and present resolutions, to do whatsoever with justice may be required of us; and that their quiet and prosperity depends now wholly upon themselves and is in their own power, by yielding all obedience and due "reverence to "the Law, which is the inheritance of every "subject, and the only security he can have for "his life, liberty, or estate; and the which being "neglected or disesteemed (under what speci-"ous shows soever) a very great measure of "infelicity, if not irreparable confusion, must "without doubt fall upon them." And we doubt not it will be the most acceptable declaration a King can make to his subjects, that for our part we are resolved not only duly to observe the laws ourself, but to maintain them against what opposition soever, though with the hazard of our being.

And our hope is, that not only the loyalty and good affections of all our loving subjects will concur with us in the constant preserving a good understanding between us and our people, but

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at this time their own and our interest, and compassion of the lamentable condition of our poor Protestant subsects in Ireland, will invite them to a fair intelligence and unity amongst themselves, that so we may with one heart intend the relieving and recovering that unhappy kingdom, where those barbarous rebels practise such inhuman and unheard-of outrages upon our miserable people, that no christian ear can hear without horror, nor story parallel. And as we look upon this as the greatest affliction it hath pleased God to lay upon us, so our unhappiness is encreased, in that by the distempers at home, so early remedies have not been applied to those growing evils, as the expectation and necessity there requires; though for our part, as we did upon the first notice acquaint our Parliament of Scotland, (where we then were) with that rebellion, requiring their aid and assistance, and gave like speedy intimation and recommendation to our Parliament here; so since our return hither, we have been forward to do all things which have been proposed to us towards that work, and have lately ourself offered (by a Message to our House of Peers, and communicated to our House of Commons) to take upon us the care to raise speedily 10,000 English Volunteers for that service, if the House of Commons shall declare that they will pay them; which particulars we are (in a manner) necessitated to publish, since we are informed that the malice of some persons hath whispered it abroad, that the no speedier advancing of this business hath proceeded from some want of alacrity in us to this great work; whereas we acknowledge it a high crime against Almighty God, and inexcusable to our good subjects of our three kingdoms, if we did not

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to the utmost employ all our powers and faculties to the speediest and most effectual assistance and protection of that distressed people.

And we shall now conjure all our good subjects (of what degree soever) by all the bonds of love, duty, or obedience, that are precious to good men, to join with us for the recovery of the peace of that kingdom, and the preservation of the peace of this; to remove all their doubts and fears, which may interrupt their affection to us, and all their jealousies and apprehensions which may lessen their charity to each other; and then (if the sins of this nation have not prepared an inevitable judgment for us all) God will yet make us a great and glorious King, over a free and happy people.

NUMBER X.

A Fatal Letter of the Marquis of Montross to King Charles I.; delivered during the Treaty of Uxbridge.

An ORIGINAL.

May it please your Sacred Majesty,

THE last Despatch I sent your Majesty, was by my worthy friend, and your Majesty's brave servant, Sir William Rollock, from Kintore, near Aberdeen, dated the 14th of September last; wherein I acquainted your Majesty with the good success of your arms in this kingdom, and of the battles the justice of your cause has won over your obdured rebel subjects. Since Sir William Rollock went, I have traversed all the

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the North of Scotland, up to Argyle's country; who durst not stay my coming, or I should have given your Majesty a good account of him e'er now. But at last I have met with him yesterday to his cost: of which your gracious Majesty be pleased to receive the following particulars:

After I had laid waste the whole country of Argyle, and brough off provisions for my Army of what could be found, I received information, that Argyle was got together with a considerable army, made up chiefly of his own clan [family], and vassals, and tenants, with others of the rebels that joined him; and that he was at Innerlochy, where he expected the Earl of Seaforth, and the Sept [the family] of the Fraziers, to come up to him with all the forces they could get together; upon this intelligence I departed out of Argyleshire, and marched through Lorn, Glencow, and Aber, till I came to Lochness; my design being to fall upon Argyle, before Seaforth and the Fraziers could join him. My march was through inaccessible mountains, where I could have no guides but cow-herds, and they scarce acquainted with a place but six miles from their own habitations. If I had been attacked but with an hundred men in some of these passes, I must have certainly returned back, for it would have been impossible to force my way, most of the passes being so streight, that three men could not march a-breast. I was willing to let the world see that Argyle was not the man his Highland men believed him to be; and that it was possible to beat him in his own Highlands. The difficultest march of all was over the Lochaber mountains, which we at last surmounted, and came upon the back of the enemy when they least expected us, having cut

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off some scouts we met about four miles from Innerlochy. Our van came within view of them about five o'clock in the afternoon, and we made a halt till our rear was got up, which could not be done till eight at night. The rebels took the alarm, and stood to their arms as well as we, all night, which was moon-light, and very clear. There were some few skirmishes between the rebels and us all the night, and with no loss on our side, but one man. By break of day I ordered my men to be ready to fall on upon the first signal; and I understand since by the prisoners, the rebels did the same. A little after the sun was up, both armies met, and the rebels fought for some time with great bravery; the prime of the Campbells giving the first onset, as men that deserved to fight in a better cause. Our men having a nobler cause, did wonders, and came immediately to push of pike, and dint of sword, after their first firing. The rebels could not stand it, but after some resistance at first, began to run; whom we pursued for nine miles together, making a great slaughter; which I would have hindered, if possible, that I might save your Majesty's misled subjects; for well I know your Majesty does not delight in their blood, but in their returning to their duty. There were at least fifteen hundred killed in the battle and the pursuit; among whom there are a great many of the most considerable gentlemen of the name of Campbell, and some of them nearly related to the Earl. I have saved and taken prisoners several of them, that have acknowledged to me their fault, and lay all the blame on their Chief. Some gentlemen of the Low-lands, that had behaved themselves bravely in the battle, when they saw all lost, fled into the

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the old castle, and upon their surrender I have treated them honorably, and taken their parole never to bear arms against your Majesty. [Here are six or seven lines, that for the honor of some families, are better left out than mentioned.] We have of your Majesty's army about two hundred wounded, but I hope few of them dangerously. I can hear but of four killed, and one whom I cannot name to your Majesty, but with grief of mind, Sir Thomas Ogilvy, a son of the Earl of Arlys, of whom I wrote to your Majesty in my last. He is not yet dead, but they say he cannot possibly live; and we give him over for dead. Your Majesty had never a truer servant, nor there never was a braver, honester gentleman. For the rest of the particulars of this action, I refer myself to the bearer, Mr. Hay, whom your Majesty knows already, and therefore I need not recommend him.

Now, Sacred Sir, let me humbly intreat your Majesty's pardon, if I presume to write you my poor thoughts and opinion about what I heard by a letter I received from my friends in the South last week, as if your Majesty was entering into a Treaty with your Rebel Parliament in England. The success of your arms in Scotland does not more rejoice my heart, as that news from England is like to break it. And whatever come of me, I will speak my mind freely to your Majesty; for it is not mine, but your Majesty's interest I seek. When I had the honor of waiting upon your Majesty last, I told you at full length what I fully understood of the designs of your rebel subjects in both kingdoms, which I had occasion to know, as much as any one whatsoever, being at that time, as they thought, entirely in their interest. Your Majesty may remember

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remember how much you said you were convinced I was in the right in my opinion of them. I am sure there is nothing fallen out since to make your Majesty change your judgment in all those things I laid before your Majesty at that time. The more your Majesty grants, the more will be asked; and I have too much reason to know that they will not rest satisfied with less than making your Majesty a King of Straw. I hope the news I have received about a Treaty, may be a mistake; and the rather, that the letter wherewith the Queen was pleased to honor me, dated the 30th of December, mentions no such thing. Yet I know not what to make of the intelligence I received, since it comes from Sir Robert Spotswood, who writes it with a great regret; and it is no wonder, considering no man living is a more true subject to your Majesty than he. Forgive me, Sacred Sovereign, to tell your Majesty, that in my poor opinion it is unworthy of a King to treat with rebel subjects, while they have the sword in their hands. And though God forbid I should stint your Majesty's Mercy, yet I must declare the horror I am in, when I think of a Treaty, while your Majesty and they are in the field with two Armies; unless they disband, and submit themselves entirely to your Majesty's goodness and pardon. As to the state of affairs in this kingdom, the bearer will fully inform your Majesty in every particular. And give me leave with all humility to assure your Majesty, that through God's blessing I am in the fairest hopes of reducing this kingdom to your Majesty's obedience. And if the measures I have concerted with your other loyal subjects fail me not, which they hardly can, I doubt not but before the end of this summer I shall be able to come to your

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your Majesty's assistance with a brave army; which, backed with the justice of your Majesty's cause, will make the rebels in England as well as in Scotland feel the just rewards of rebellion. Only give me leave, after I have reduced this country to your Majesty's obedience, and conquered from Dan to Beersheeba, to say to your Majesty then, as David's General did to his Master, "Come thou thyself, lest this country "be called by my name:" for in all my actions I aim only at your Majesty's honour and interest, as becomes one that is to his last breath,

May it please your Sacred Majesty,
Your Majesty's most humble,
most faithful, and most obedient
Subject and Servant,
MONTROSS.

Innerlochy in Lochaber, February 3, 1645.

NUMBER XI.

The Address of General Monk *and his Officers from* Scotland *to the Parliament of* England, *against Monarchy, upon* Richard Cromwell's *Abdication.*

Right Honorable,

THAT a nation may be born in a day, is a truth which this day's experience witnesseth unto us against all the dictates of human reason; and that a glorious cause whose interest was laid low (even in the dust) should be in one day restored to its life and lustre, when almost all the asserters of it had so manifestly declined it by a defection of many years, cannot be imputed to less than the greatest and most powerful manifestation

Whitelock's Memoirs, p. 679, 680.

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festation of the arm of God, that ever this or former generations saw, or heard of.

In the sense of this (the greatest of our temporal mercies) we now come to address to your Honors, as those whose presence we have so long wanted, that had you staid but a little longer, it might have been left to be enquired what England was; we mean, what was become of that People, by whom God for so many years filled the world with so much admiration and terror. But though this great work be (as most justly it ought to be) wonderful in our eyes, yet when we consider its Author, who calls things that are not, as if they were, bringeth down to the pit, and raiseth up again; we see that nothing is difficult to faith, and the promises of God are sure and stable, even then, when in the eye of man no less than impossible.

We cannot but acknowledge to our exceeding great sorrow and shame, that ourselves (though we hope most of us, through weakness and frailty, not out of design) have very much contributed to those provocations, which have caused God to depart from our Israel; and we could heartily wish that even amongst those that help to make up your own number, there had not been an helping hand to this sad and deplorable work: but we see when God's hour is come, and the time of his people's deliverance (even the set time is at hand) he cometh skipping over all the mountains of sin and unworthiness that we daily cast in the way.

We are not willing to detain your honors too long upon this subject; and therefore beseeching the God of all our mercies to heal the backslidings of his people, and not to charge unto their account, in this his day of their deliverance, their miscarriages,

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miscarriages, whilst they were wandering in dark and slippery places, after the imaginations of their own hearts: we with all humility and affection in the first place congratulate you in this your happy restoration to the government of these nations, which God was pleased once so to own in your hands, as to make you both the praise and wonder of the earth, the glory and rejoicing of his people, and the terror of your adversaries; and we acknowledge it a singular condescension in you, in this day of so great difficulties, to take upon you so heavy a burthen. And seeing his late Highness hath been pleased to manifest so much self-denial and love to his country, in appearing for the interest thereof against his own; we humbly intreat that some speedy care may be taken for him and his family (together with her Highness Dowager) that there may be such an honorable provision settled upon them, and such other dignities as are suitable to the former great services of that family to these nations. Richard Cromwell.

And in the next place we cannot but humbly beseech you, now you have an opportunity, than which a fitter your hearts did never pray for, to finish the work of Reformation that hath been so long upon the wheel, and met with so great obstruction, that you would not heal the wound of the daughter of God's people slightly, but make so sure and lasting provisions for both their Christian and Civil Rights, as that both this and future generations may have cause to rise up, and call you Blessed, and the blackest of designs may never be able to cast dirt in your face any more. And as helpful to these two great concernments, Religion and Liberty, we humbly propose

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propose unto your mature considerations these two desires:

First, that you would be pleased to countenance Godliness, and all the sincere professors thereof, encourage an able and laborious Ministry, and suffer no other yoke to be imposed upon the consciences of God's people, than what may be agreeable to the Word of God: and that you would be a terror to all impious, prophane, and licentious people whatsoever.

Secondly, that you would so vindicate and assert the native rights and liberties of these nations, in and by the government of a Free State, that there may not be the voice of an oppressed one in our land, but that all may enjoy the blessed fruits of your righteous and peaceable government. And for the prevention of all possibility for ambitious spirits ever to work their ends against you, we humbly desire you to be very careful, as well what persons you entrust with the management of the Armies and Navies of this Commonwealth, as of the measure of that power and authority you depart with to them, or substitute in them. Touching the qualifications of the persons, we desire they may be truly godly and conscientious. Touching the measure of their authority, that it may be adequate to the nature and being of a *Commonwealth*. And whilst you are thus pleading, and asserting the interest of God and his People, you may rest assured with greatest confidence, that we shall appear in your defence, and the vindication of your authority, against the opposition of all arbitrary powers whatsoever.

And to that blessed and all-powerful God, who is able to spirit you for this great work, you are, and

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and shall daily be, recommended in the prayers of,

Your most loyal and most
Obedient Servants,

George Monk,	P. Crisp,
Thomas Read,	He. Brithman,
Ralph Cobbet,	Phil. Watson,
Tim. Wilks,	Tho. Dean,
Robert Read,	Jerem. Smith,
John Cloberry,	Will. Davis,
Abra. Holmes,	James Right,
Henr. Dorney,	Jos. Wallington,
Dan. Davison,	Will. Helling,
Rich. Heath,	Ethelb. Morgan,
Mi. Richardson,	Rob. Winter,
J. Hubbelthorn,	John Paddon,
Tho. Johnson,	Anthony Nowers.

The Form of the Declaration and Engagement taken by General Monk and his Officers, against Monarchy, and the Family of the Stuarts, at his coming up from Scotland.

I *A. B.* do hereby declare, That I do renounce the pretended Title of *Charles Stuart*, and the whole Line of the late *King James*, and of every other person as a single person, pretending to the Government of these Nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging; and that I will by the grace and assistance of Almighty God, be true, faithful, and constant to this *Commonwealth*, against any King, single person, and House of Peers, and every of them; and hereunto I subscribe my name, Whitelock's Memoirs, p. 684.

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NUMBER XII.

King James *the Second's promising Speech to the Parliament, May* 30, 1685.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I THANK you very heartily for the Bill you have presented me this day; and I assure you, the readiness and cheerfulness that hath attended the despatch of it, is as acceptable to me as the bill itself.

After so happy a beginning, you may believe I would not call upon you unnecessarily for an extraordinary supply: but when I tell you the stores of the navy are extremely exhausted; that the anticipations upon several branches of the revenue are great and burthensome; and the debts of the King my Brother, to his servants and family, are such as deserve compassion; that the Rebellion in Scotland, without putting more weight upon it than it really deserves, must oblige me to a considerable expense extraordinary; I am sure such considerations will move you to give me an aid to provide for those things, wherein the security, the ease, and the happiness of my Government are so much concerned. But above all, I must recommend to you the care of the Navy, the strength and glory of this nation; that you will put it into such a condition *as will make us considerable and respected abroad.* I cannot express my concerns upon this occasion more suitable to my own thoughts of it, than by assuring you I have a true English heart, as jealous of the honor of the nation as you can be: and I please myself with the hopes, that by God's blessing

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blessing and your assistance, I may carry its reputation yet higher in the world than ever it has been in the time of any of my Ancestors.

And as I will not call upon you for supplies, but when they are of public use and advantage, so I promise you, that what you give me upon such occasions shall be managed with good husbandry: and I will take care it shall be employed to the uses for which I ask them.

NUMBER XIII.

Two remarkable Letters of a Foreign Minister to their Ambassador in England, relating to King James's preceding Speech. Translated from the Originals.

Paris, June 29, 1685.

Monsieur,

THE copy of his B. M.'s Speech to the Parliament, inclosed in yours of the 9th instant, S. V. affords sufficient matter of thoughts here. It is of a strain that looks quite contrary to what we expected, or what you yourself in yours of the 11th of the last month made us believe it would be. The King can scarce believe there is any change in the affections of that Prince towards him, and yet knows not what to make of that new manner of expressing himself on so public an occasion. If he and his Parliament come to a cordial trust in one another, it may probably change all the measures we have been so long concerting, for the glory of our Monarch, and the establishment of the Catholic Religion.

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For my own part, I hope the Accession of a Crown has not lessened the zeal that on all occasions appeared in him when but Duke of York. Nor will the King's inviolable attachment to the interest of the Duke in the most difficult emergents permit him now, when King, to forget his obligations and engagements to him. There is better things to be hoped for, from one that has run so great hazards upon the account of his religion, and who has so often expressed his resentments of the good turns the King did him in his Brother's life time.

Yet it is fit you take all possible care to search into the motives and advisers of this Speech: and I am commanded to tell you, that this is one of the greatest pieces of service you can do his Majesty in this juncture. There are not wanting some here that would attribute it to a change in the King of England's inclinations, and they pretend to have hints of it from some about his person; what truth is in this suggestion, you are to spare nothing to find out. If the Parliament come once to settle a revenue upon him, such as may put him out of our reverence, your business there will be the more difficult to manage; for doubtless he must have ambition, and likewise a desire to please a nation, who had but an ill opinion of him before: and nothing can be more taking with them, than a breach with us. It will be strange indeed, if in the death of King Charles, France has changed for the worse. But whatever others fear, I must once more confess for myself, that I am of the same opinion I was always of, even that we must necessarily gain by the change. Your bills are sent by this post. Nothing can be more earnestly recommended to you

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you in his Majesty's name than a narrow enquiry into this affair, by,

Monsieur,

Your most humble Servant.

The other runs thus:

July 8, 1685.

Monsieur,

IT is unlucky that hitherto you have not been able to find out what we are to expect from this change in England. In yours of the 13th of the last month, S. V. you seem to call in question that King's inclinations to the common cause; and you surprise us with your fears that he may come to forget his obligations to the King. With the same post we received better news from a sure hand, yet you are to watch as narrowly as if your fears were well grounded. There is a great matter in dependence, with relation to the Edict of Nants, which must not be declared till that King's inclinations be fully known. And yet there is nothing in the world the King desires more eagerly to see done than it, if once it might be done safely. Received enclosed an answer to every one of your queries, which make use of as occasion offers. Only the last is referred to your own discretion, it depending entirely upon your own knowledge of the person: if he can be brought in, it will be a notable piece of service. Much may be known by enquiring exactly how the Prince of Orange stands in the King's affections, and how the Ministers are affected towards him. For the Hollanders in general, he seemed on all occasions neither to

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love nor fear them; nothing has fallen out of late to alter his mind. On Friday Monsieur Less comes off, who is to shew you his despatches, and you are to act in concert with him. I am, &c.

NUMBER XIV.

Some Passages out of the Duke of Monmouth's Pocket-book, that was seized about him in the West.

An ORIGINAL.

October 13. L. CAME to me at eleven at night from 29. Told me 29 could never be brought to believe I knew any thing of that part of the plot that concerned *Rye House*; but as things went, he must behave himself as if he did believe it, for some reasons that might be for my advantage. L. desired me to write to 29, which I refused; but afterwards told me 29 expected it: and I promised to write to-morrow, if he could call for the letter at S.; L. shewed a great concern for me, and I believe him sincere, though 3 is of another mind.

14. L. came as he promised, and received the letter from 3 sealed, refusing to read it himself, though I had left it open with S. for that purpose.

20. L. came to me at S. with a line or two from 29 very kind, assuring me he believed every word in my letter to be true; and advised me to keep hid, till he had an opportunity to express his belief of it some other way. L. told me that he was to go out of town next day; and that 29 would

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would send 80 to me in a day or two, whom he assured me I might trust.

L. came for me to ——, where 29 was with 80. He received me pretty well; and said that 30 and 50 were the causes of my misfortunes, and would ruin me. After some hot words against them, and against S. went away in a good humour. 25.

I went to E——, and was in danger of being discovered by some of Ogelthorp's men, that met me accidentally at the back door of the garden. 26.

A letter from 29 to be to-morrow at seven at night at S. and nobody to know it but 80. Nov. 2.

He came not, there being an extraordinary Council. But 80 brought me a copy of 50's intercepted letter, which made rather for me than against me. Bade me come to-morrow at the same hour, and to say nothing of the letter, except 29 spoke of it first. 3.

I came and found 29 and L. there. He was very kind, and gave me directions how to manage my business, and what words I should say to 39. He appointed 80 to come to me every night till my business was ripe, and promised to send with him directions from time to time. 4.

L. came from 29, and told me my business should be done to my mind next week; and that Q. was my friend, and had spoke to 39 and D. in my behalf; which he said 29 took very kindly, and had expressed so to her. At parting he told me there should be nothing required of me but what was both safe and honorable. But said there must be something done to blind 39. 9.

L. came to me with the copy of a letter I was to sign, to please 39. I desired to know in 15.

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whose hands it was to be deposited; for I would have it in no hands but 29. He told me it should be so; but if 39 asked a copy, it could not well be refused. I referred myself entirely to 29's pleasure.

24. L. came to me from 29, and ordered me to render myself to-morrow. Cautioned me to play my part, to avoid questions as much as possible, and to seem absolutely converted to 39's interest. Bade me bear with some words that might seem harsh.

25. I rendered myself. At night 29 could not dissemble his satisfaction; pressed my hand; which I remember not he did before, except when I returned from the French service. 29 acted his part well, and I too. 39 and D. seemed not ill pleased.

26. 29 took me aside, and falling upon the business of L. R. said he inclined to have saved him, but was forced to it, otherwise he must have broke with 39. Bade me think no more of it. Coming home, L. told me he feared 39 began to smell out 29's carriage. That —— said to 39 that morning, that all that was done was but sham.

27. Several told me of the storm that was brewing. Rumsey was with 39, and was seen to come out crying, that he must accuse a man he loved.

Dec. 19. A letter from 29, bidding me stay till I heard further from him.

Jan. 5. I received a letter from L. marked by 29 in the margin, to trust entirely in 10; and that in February I should certainly have leave to return. That matters were concerting towards it; and that 39 had no suspicion, notwithstanding of my reception here.

A letter

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A letter from L. that my business was almost as well as done; but must be so sudden as not to leave room for 39's party to counterplot. That it is probable he would chuse Scotland rather than Flanders or this country; which was all one to 29. Feb. 3.

The sad news of his death by L. O cruel fate! 16.

NOTE—That by 29 and 39, King Charles and the Duke of York seem to be meant. But I know not what to make of the other numbers and letters; and must leave the reader to his own conjectures.

NUMBER XV.

A Letter of the late Duke of Monmouth's, Writ in his Retirement in Holland, a little before his Attempt in the West.

An ORIGINAL.

I RECEIVED both yours together this morning, and cannot delay you my answer longer than this post; though I am afraid it will not please you so much as I heartily wish it may. I have weighed all your reasons, and every thing that you and my other friends have written me upon that subject; and have done it with the greatest inclinations to follow your advice, and without prejudice. You may well believe I have had time enough to reflect sufficiently upon our present state, especially since I came hither. But whatever way I turn my thoughts, I find insuperable difficulties. Pray do not think it an effect of melancholy, for that was never my greatest fault, when I tell you, that in these

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three weeks retirement in this place, I have not only looked back but forward; and the more I consider our present circumstances, I think them still the more desperate, unless some unforeseen accident falls out, which I cannot divine nor hope for. [Here follow sixteen lines all in cypher.] Judge then what we are to expect, in case we should venture upon any such attempt at this time. It is to me a vain argument, that our enemies are scarce yet well settled, when you consider that fear in some, and ambition in others, have brought them to comply; and that the Parliament being made up for the most part of Members that formerly run our enemy down, they will be ready to make their peace as soon as they can, rather than hazard themselves upon an uncertain bottom. I give you but hints of what, if I had time, I would write you at more length: but that I may not seem obstinate in my own judgment, or neglect the advice of my friends, I will meet you at the time and place appointed. But for God's sake, think in the mean time of the improbabilities that lye naturally in our way; and let us not, by struggling with our chains, make them streighter and heavier. For my part, I will run the hazard of being thought any thing, rather than a rash, inconsiderate man. And to tell you my thoughts without disguise, I am now so much in love with a retired life, that I am never like to be fond of making a bustle in the world again. I have much more to say, but the post cannot stay; and I refer the rest till next meeting; being entirely Your's.

NUM-

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NUMBER XVI.

King James the Second's Remarkable Speech to the Parliament, after the Duke of Monmouth's Defeat.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

AFTER the storm that seemed to be coming upon us when we parted last, I am glad to meet you all again in so great peace and quietness; God Almighty be praised, by whose blessing that Rebellion was suppressed. But when I reflect what an inconsiderable number of men began it, and how long they carried it on without any opposition, I hope every body will be convinced that the militia, which hath hitherto been so much depended on, is not sufficient for such occasions; and that there is nothing but a good force of well disciplined troops, in constant pay, that can defend us from such as either at home or abroad are disposed to disturb us. And in truth, my concern for the peace and quiet of my subjects, as well as for the safety of the Government, made me think it necessary to increase the number to the proportion I have done. This I owed as well to the honor as to the security of the nation; whose reputation was so infinitely exposed to all our neighbours, by having lain open to this late wretched attempt, that it is not to be repaired without keeping such a body of men on foot, that none may ever have the thought again of finding us so miserably unprovided. It is for the support of this great charge, which is now more than double to what it was, that I ask your assistance in giving me a supply answerable

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answerable to the expense it brings along with it. And I cannot doubt but what I have begun, so much for the honor and defence of the Government, will be continued by you with all the cheerfulness and readiness that is requisite for a work of so great importance.

Let no man take exception that there are some Officers in the Army not qualified, according to the late Tests, for their employments; the Gentlemen, I must tell you, are most of them well known to me; and having formerly served with me in several occasions, and always approved the loyalty of their principles by their practice, I think them fit now to be employed under me: and will deal plainly with you. That after having had the benefit of their services in such time of need and danger, I will neither expose them to disgrace, nor myself to the want of them, if there should be another Rebellion to make them necessary to me.

I am afraid some men may be so wicked to hope and expect that a difference may happen between you and me upon this occasion: but when you consider what advantages have arisen to us in a few months, by the good understanding we have hitherto had; what wonderful effects it hath already produced in the change of the whole scene of affairs abroad, so much more to the honor of the nation, and the figure it ought to make in the world; and that nothing can hinder a further progress in this way, to all our satisfactions, but fears and jealousies amongst ourselves; I will not apprehend that such a misfortune can befal us, as a division, or but a coldness between me and you: nor that any thing can shake you in your steadiness and loyalty to me, who by God's blessing will ever make you all returns

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returns of kindness and protection; with a resolution to venture even my own life in the defence of the true interest of this kingdom.

NUMBER XVII.

Some Passages of a Letter from a Foreign Minister to their Ambassador in England, upon the Occasion of the King's Speech immediately preceding; dated November 29, 1685.

Done from the ORIGINAL.

WE are now out of pain about the King's intentions. This last Speech to the Parliament hath sufficiently cleared all our doubts, together with what —— has written upon that subject. It is not more than what I really expected; for I had always a better opinion of him than to think he could bear tamely the fetters which Heretics would endeavour to impose upon him. For the time to come, I hope he will act *en Maistre*. Your conduct there pleases extremely; and above all, your last despatch about what passed at your audience. All you have promised shall be made good to a tittle; and it is hoped that others will be as zealous to keep their promises to us. The enclosed you must deliver, but not till you see the person has deserved it; for I am more and more persuaded, as well as you, that we cannot be too much upon the reserve with him, &c.

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NUMBER XVIII.

Nouveau Voyage d'Italie, p. 259, 260.

The Harangue of the Rector of the Jesuits' College at Rome, to the Earl of Castlemain, upon his Embassy to the Pope.

IN tanto strepitu mundi plaudentis gratulantisque Tuo in Urbem adventui, hoc est, immortalibus Jacobi II. Magnæ Britanniæ Regis in Catholicam Ecclesiam meritis, Gregorianum hoc Palladis Athenæum, nec debuet tacere, nec potuit. Quamobrem, ego literariæ hujus Universitatis nomine, primò gratulor Innocent XI. felicitati, quòd ipso regnante, Pontificio accesserit Diademati Augusta hæc & Triumphalis Corona; unde illud cum Apostolo usurpare jure meritò valeat, Gaudium meum, & Corona mea. Hunc lætissimum ferre mortalibus diem, longissimi ævi spatio distulerunt superi, tùm ut diuturnis terrarum votis ingentia hœc Cœli dona responderent, tùm ut simul invenirent regnantem in Anglia Jacobum II. Romæ Innocentium XI. Gratulor quoque Christiano Orbi, necnon Catholicis Regibus, quod tanto Dominatore Britannorum Sceptra gerente, tam grande advenerit, & ipsorum Coronis adversus Christiani nominis hostes munimentum, & Orthodoxæ Fidei ornamentum. Imminent quippe ab invictissimi Regis Classibus, tum Lybicis prædonibus, tum Asiæ & Palestinæ littoribus, flammarum procellæ, magis metuendæ quàm maris. At tibi, Oceani Regina Magna Britannia, quæ à nostro olim orbe divisa, nunc gemini facis commercia mundi; quid non liceat ominari faustitatis sub tanto principe! Erige spes; erige vota; nec timeas si maxima, sed nisi maxima. Non libet in die hac faustissima commemorare quàm lugubres passa fueris unius

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unius ampliûs sæculi spacio, toto orbe terrarum admirante atque ingemiscente, catastrophas. Sed si hæc una erat via, quâ Jacobus II. Britanniæ solium ascenderet, prope est ut exclamem, tanti fuisse. Profectò invidebit Tibi Posteritas, non modò præsentium temporum felicitatem, sed & præteritorum calamitates tam grandi mercede redemptas: eaque, quibus nunc frueris bona, etsi post ingens à te pretium persilutum tibi reddita fuerint non à te coempta arbitrabitur, sed quadam superum prodigentiâ dona data. Tibi demum gratulor, præstantissime orator, quod tàm faustum diem, & videris in Anglia, & detuleris in urbem. Nam de Sapientiâ tuâ, quâ per eruditissimos libros hæresim profligasti, nihil attinet dicere: nihil fortitudine, quâ carceres ipsos pro Catholicâ Religione tuendâ, non tam pertulisti, quàm decorasti: nil de prudentiâ, nobilitate, cœterisque dotibus tuis. Hoc unum universa tua decora comprehendit, quod ad maximum totius Regni negotium, hoc est; ut splendidissimâ fungereris apud Innocentium P. M. legatione, Jacobus II. Magnæ Britanniæ Rex maximus, te unum elegit, quia unus dignus erat eligi, alter eligere.

The Speech of the Rector of the College of Jesuits, to his Excellency Roger Earl of Castlemain.

SIR,

YOU must not think this College alone can be mute; and if they could, their silence must be a crime, at a time when this City is filled with universal joy, upon the news of your Excellency's arrival; and all places resound the praises of James the Second, and the obligations the

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the Catholic Church has to that illustrious Prince. I, in the name of this learned body, do in the first place congratulate thee, *Innocent*, in whose Reign this flourishing Imperial Crown is added to the Papal Diadem. It is now your Holiness can properly use that apostolic expression, *My Joy and my Crown*. Heaven has deferred this happy day thus long, that so great a blessing might not be obtained, without long and unwearied prayers; and at last effected, when two such Princes as James and Innocent should concur to Reign, the one in England, and the other in Rome. What a support have all Catholic Kings gained by this accession! What an honor has the Orthodox Faith received, and what a defence against the enemies of the name of Christ! The thunder of his invincible fleet will strike greater terror into the pirates of Barbary and the Levant, than storms and waves can do. How highly blest art thou, O Britain! Empress of the ocean; once secluded from the earth, now mistress of the commerce of the Eastern and Western world? What prosperity mayst thou not hope for, under the reign of so excellent a Prince! Raise thy hopes, raise thy courage; and banish all unjust and unseasonable fears. I have no inclination at this time to recount those disasters and calamities which England has been the theatre for above an age past, to the grief and astonishment of the rest of the world. But if Providence has made these the steps for James the Second to mount the Throne, I can hardly refrain declaring how cheaply thou hast purchased so great a blessing. It is certain, their present happiness will create envy in succeeding times; and however dear it has cost them, posterity will esteem it more the bounty and

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and profusion of Heaven, than a recompense of their sufferings. In the last place, I must congratulate your Excellency, who has first seen this happy day at home, and has next been the messenger to bring it hither. I shall not here presume to praise your great wisdom, your learned writings against heresy; that steady courage you have shewn in those many prisons you have honored for your zeal to the true religion; your prudent conduct, or your other extraordinary qualities: all these are summed up in one; and your character is in fine completed, by the choice your Great Master has made of you, to sustain the most considerable affair of his kingdom, the present glorious embassy: in which all the world must own him to be the most competent judge, and you the fittest person.

NUMBER XIX.

The Answer of the Vice-President and Fellows of Magdalen-College, Oxon, before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; why they could not in Conscience comply with the King's Mandate.

THE said Vice-President, and other deputed Fellows answered and said, That the said College of St Mary Magdalen, in Oxon, is a Body Corporate, governed by Local Statutes, granted and confirmed to them by his Majesty's Royal Predecessors, King Henry the 6th, for him and his heirs and successors, under the Great Seal of England; which are also since confirmed by several other Letters Patents of others of his Majesty's Royal Predecessors, under the Great Seal

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Seal of England. That by the said Statutes of the College (to the observation of which each Fellow is sworn) it is ordered, that the person elected President thereof, shall be a man of good life and reputation, approved understanding, and good temper, discreet, provident, and circumspect, both in spiritual and temporal affairs, and at the time of election of a President, the said fellows are bound by the said Statutes, to take an oath that they shall nominate none to that office, but such as are, or have been Fellows of the said College, or of New-College, in Oxon; or if they are not actually Fellows at that time of election, that they be such as have left their Fellowships in their respective colleges upon credible accounts. And when two qualified persons shall be nominated at the time of election, by the greater number of all the Fellows, to the said office of President; the thirteen seniors also swear that they will elect one of them, whom in their consciences they think most proper and sufficient, most discreet, most useful, and best qualified for the place; without any regard to love, hatred, favor, or fear. And every Fellow when he is first admitted into his Fellowship in the said College, swears that he will inviolably keep and observe all the Statutes and Ordinances of the College, and every thing therein contained, so far as does or may concern him, according to the plain, literal, and grammatical sense and meaning thereof, and as much as in him lies will cause the same to be kept and observed by others; and that he will not procure any Dispensation contrary to his aforesaid oath, or any part thereof, nor contrary to the Statutes and Ordinances to which it relates, or any of them; nor will he endeavour that such Dispensations

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sations shall be procured by any other, or others, publicly or privately, directly or indirectly. And if it shall happen that any Dispensation of this sort, of whatsoever authority it shall be, whether in general or particular, or under what form of words soever it be granted, that he will neither make use of it, nor in any sort consent thereunto. That upon notice of the death of Dr. Clark, late President of the said College, the Vice-President called a meeting of the said Fellows, in order to the appointing a day for the election of a new President, and the 13th of April was the time prefixed with power to prorogue the same as they should see cause, till the 15th, beyond which time they could not statutably defer their election; and in pursuance thereof a Citation, or Premonition, was fixed upon the chapel-door of the said College, signifying the same, and by which the absent Fellows were summoned to repair home, as the Statute in the case requires. And the said Vice-President and other deputed Fellows farther say, that on the 11th of April aforesaid, they received his Majesty's Letters Mandatory, to elect and admit Mr. *Anthony Farmer* President of the said College: but forasmuch as the said Vice-President, and Fellows, apprehended the right of election to be in them, and believed his Majesty never intended to dispossess them of their rights; and forasmuch as the said Mr. Farmer had never been Fellow either of Magdalen, or New-College in Oxon, and had not those qualifications which in and by the said Statutes of the College are required in the character of a President, as they in their consciences did, or do verily believe; and in regard that they could not comply with his Majesty's letter, without the violation of

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their oaths, and hazard of their legal interest and property, wherewith they are by the Statutes possessed, and which by their oaths they are bound to maintain; they represented the same by their humble petition to his Majesty; and having deferred their election of a President to the last day limited by their Statutes, then they proceeded to election, and having first received the Eucharist, and taken the said oaths, as the Statutes enjoin, to choose a person so qualified as is before expressed, they did elect the Reverend Mr. *John Hough*, B.D. and one of the Fellows of their College, a person every way qualified to be President; who has been since confirmed by the Bishop of Winton their Visitor, as the Statutes of the said College direct.

And that they might not lie under His Majesty's Displeasure by their proceedings, they did on the 19th of April make an humble representation thereof to His Majesty, by his Grace the Duke of Ormond, Chancellor of the University of Oxon, setting forth their indispensable obligations to observe their Founder's Statutes.

All which matters the Vice-President and other deputed Fellows do humbly offer to your Lordships, and pray to be dismissed with your Lordships' favor.

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NUMBER XX.

The Petition of the said Vice-President and Fellows, offered to King James,

Humbly Sheweth,

THAT upon the 27th of August we received your Majesty's Letters Mandatory, dated August 14th, requiring us to admit the Right Reverend Father in God Samuel Lord Bishop of Oxon, to be our President; and dispensing with all Statutes and Constitutions to the contrary. It is an unexpressible affliction to us, to find ourselves reduced to such an extremity that either we must disobey Your Majesty's Royal Command, contrary to our own inclinations, and that constant course of loyalty which we have shewed in all instances hitherto upon all occasions whatsoever; or else break our Founder's Statutes, and deliberately perjure ourselves.

For our Founder hath obliged us under oath, when we came in Fellows, inviolably to observe his Statutes; and one clause therein enjoins us never to admit, or make use of Dispensation granted by any authority whatsoever, whereby we may be absolved from the same. In this Statute for the election of a President, he commands us upon oath to elect such a person into the place of President within fifteen days after the vacancy, who either is, or has been Fellow of our own, or New-College; which we represented to Your Majesty in our humble Petition, signed April 9th, wherein we offered ourselves ready to elect any person capable of the same, whom your Majesty should be pleased to recom-

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mend; and having waited the utmost time limited by our Statutes, and received no answer to that effect, we did then according to the exigence of our Statutes (having first taken the holy Eucharist, and our several oaths to that purpose) nominate and elect such a person, as we in our consciences did believe to be every way qualified for that place: by which act of ours, we have conveyed all that right to him, which our Founder hath intrusted with us; and it does not lie in our power to admit any other. Our Founder in another Statute obligeth us under the pain of perjury, a dreadful anathema, and eternal damnation, not to suffer any of his Statutes to be altered, infringed, or dispensed with, and commands us under the same sacred obligations, not to execute any orders or decree whatsoever, contrary or repugnant to the said Statutes; by which said Statutes and oaths, we are utterly incapacitated to admit the said Reverend Father in God to be our President.

May it please Your Sacred Majesty, to give us leave to lay this our case, and ourselves, with all submission, at your Royal feet, most earnestly beseeching your Sacred Majesty to extend to us, your humble petitioners, the grace and tenderness which your Majesty hath vouchsafed to all your other subjects; and not to believe us guilty of any obstinacy or undutifulness, crimes which our souls abhor; but to receive us into your Majesty's grace and favor, the greatest temporal blessing which our hearts can wish.

And your humble Petitioners shall always (as in duty bound) pray to Almighty God, to bless your Majesty with a long and happy reign over us, and afterwards to receive you to an immortal Crown of Glory.

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NUMBER XXI.

A Copy of a Letter of the Irish Clergy to King James, in favor of the Earl of Tyrconnel; found among Bishop Tyrrel's Papers in Dublin.

SIR,

SINCE it hath pleased the Almighty Providence, by placing your Majesty in the Throne of your Ancestors, to give you both authority and occasion of exercising those Royal virtues which alone do merit and would acquire you the Crown to which you were born; we, though comprehended in the general clemency and indulgence which you extend to the rest of our fellow subjects, are nevertheless so remote from your Majesty's presence, that our prayers can have no access to you, but by a mediator. And since of all others the Earl of Tyrconnel did first espouse, and chiefly maintain, these twenty-five years last past, the cause of your poor oppressed Roman-Catholic clergy, against our many and powerful adversaries, and is now the only subject of your Majesty, under whose fortitude and popularity in this kingdom, we dare cheerfully and with assurance own our loyalty, and assert your Majesty's interest, do make it our humble suit to your Majesty, that you will be pleased to lodge your authority over us in his hands, to the terror of the factious, and encouragement of your faithful subjects here; since his dependance on your Majesty is so great, that we doubt not but that they will receive him with such acclamations as the long-captived

The St. of Irela under Jame: Dr. K p. 29 295.

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Israelites did their Redeemer Mordecai. And since your Majesty in glory and power does equal the mighty Ahasuerus, and the virtue and beauty of your Queen is as true a parallel to his adored Hester, we humbly beseech she may be heard as our great Patroness, against that Haman, whose pride and ambition of being honored as his Master, may have hitherto kept us in slavery. And though we wish none the fate of so dreadful an example, but rather a timely penitence and conversion; we yet humbly crave your Majesty's protection against all such, if it may consist with your Royal wisdom and pleasure, to which we with all humility submit, in the establishing of the said Earl of Tyrconnel in such authority here, as may secure us in the exercise of our function to the honor of God, and offering up our prayers and sacrifice for the continuation of your Majesty's long and prosperous Reign over us.

Your Majesty's most dutiful
and obedient Subjects.

Dublin, July, 1685.

NUMBER XXII.

Colonel Luttrel's Order, forbidding above Five Protestants meeting any where, &c.

By the Governor of Dublin, June 18, 1690.

State of Ireland, &c. p. 430, 431.

WHEREAS several disaffected persons of the Protestant Religion are of late come to this City of Dublin, and some of them armed with swords, pistols, and other weapons, contrary to his

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his Majesty's express commands by his Royal Proclamation, bearing date the 20th day of July, 1689.

I. These are therefore to will and require all men whatsoever, of the Protestant Religion, now residing or being within the said City of Dublin, or within the liberties of St. Sepulchre Donnor, or Thomas Court, who are not housekeepers, or have not followed some lawful vocation therein these three months past, to depart within twenty-four hours after the publication hereof, out of the said City and Liberties, and repair to their respective habitations, or usual places of abode in the country, upon pain of death, or imprisonment, and to be farther proceeded against as contemners of his Majesty's Royal Commands, and as persons designing the disturbance of the public peace.

II. And likewise, That all Protestants within the said City and Liberties, not being of his Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council, nor in his Army, or actual service, shall within the time aforesaid deliver up all their arms, both offensive and defensive, and all their ammunition, into his Majesty's stores in the said city, upon pain of death.

III. And that no Protestant whatsoever, do presume at his peril, to walk or go in the streets, from ten of the clock at night till five in the morning, nor at any time when there is an alarm. In which case all such persons are required for their safety, and for the security of the public, to keep within doors till such an alarm is over.

IV. And lastly, For the prevention of riots and unlawful assemblies, these are therefore to

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will and require all the said Protestants, that no greater number of them than Five shall meet and converse at any time, either in any house within the said City or Liberties, over and above the family of the house; or in the streets and fields in and about the same, or elsewhere; hereby declaring, that all persons who shall offend against any clause in this present Order, shall suffer death, or such other punishment, as a court-martial shall think fit.

NUMBER XXIII.

The French King's Declaration, published at his Camp at Arnheim, to oblige the Hollanders to surrender their Country to him, Anno 1672.

DE PAR LE ROY.

SA Majesté considerant combien il a plû à Dieu de benir ses justes desseins, et faire prosperer les enterprises, qù il a faites depuis son arrivée à la Campagne; et voulant traiter avec la derniere douceur les peuples de provinces, où elle pourra etendre ses victoires: et afin de leur faire scaveir ce qù ils auront à faire pour se rendre dignes de ses bontez, sa Majesté a fait declarer, et déclare par la presente, que tous les habitans des villes de Hollande, qui se rendront voluntairement à son obéisance, et recevront les troupes, qu'elle trouvera bon de leur envoyer pour leur sûreté et pour leur defense, seront non seulement traitez aussi favorablement qu'ils pourroient desirer;

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sirer; mais aussi seront maintenus dans tous leurs privileges et franchises, et auront toute liberté de conscience avec le libre exercice de leur Religion.

Mais, au contraire, que ceux qui ne se voudront pas soûmettre, de quelque qualité ou condition qu'ils soient, tâcheront de resister aux forces de sa Majesté par l'inondation de leurs Digues, ou autrement, seront punis de la derniere rigueur. Et cependant on exercera toutes sortes d'hostilitez contre tous ceux, qui voudront s'opposer aux desseins de sa Majesté, et lors que les glaces ouvriront le passage de tous cotez, sa Majesté ne donnera aucun quartier aux habitans des villes, mais donnera ordre que leurs biens soient pillez, et leurs maisons brûlées. Fait à l'armée devant Aernhem ce 24 Juin 1672.

Signé,

LOUIS.

Et plus bas,

LE TELLIER.

THE DECLARATION.

HIS Majesty considering how it has pleased God to bless his just designs and prosper his undertakings, since his arrival in the Army; and it being his intention to treat the people over whom he shall extend his victories, with the highest clemency; to the intent therefore that they may deserve his great goodness, his Majesty has caused to be declared, and does by these presents

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presents declare, that all the inhabitants of the Cities of Holland, who shall voluntarily submit to him, and receive the troops he shall send for their security and defence, shall be treated as favourably as they can desire; and shall be maintained in all their privileges and immunities, and have liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of their Religion.

On the contrary, all of whatever quality and condition who shall refuse to comply with these offers, and shall resist his Majesty's forces, either by the inundation of their Digues, or otherwise, shall be punished with the utmost rigor. At present, all hostilities shall be used against those who oppose his Majesty's designs; and when the ice shall open a passage on all sides, his Majesty will not give any quarter to the inhabitants of such cities, but give order that their goods be plundered, and their houses burnt. Given at the camp before Arnheim, this 24th of June, 1672.

Signed,

LOUIS.

And underneath,

LA TELLIER.

NUMBER XXIV.

AS the preceding work of Doctor James Welwood relates to the History of England during the hundred years from A.D. 1588 to A.D. 1688, and, amongst many other important events, gives us an account of the Death of King

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King Charles the Second, which happened only a few days after he had taken a resolution to be reconciled to his people, and immediately to call a new Parliament, in order to recover their good affections;—and Mr. Ralph (the author of a very copious and well-written History of England, from the Restoration of King Charles the Second to the end of the reign of King George the First, in two large volumes in folio, published in the year 1744) has given us a very full and distinct account of that important event which brought his brother the Duke of York (who was a zealous Papist) to the throne;—I shall here reprint from the first volume of Mr. Ralph's said valuable work, the whole of what he has given his readers concerning this important event, from page 836, in the first column of the page, beginning with these words, "But still we are not delivered from controversy," and ends in the first column of page 839, with the words "and ought to be postponed to the General Audit."

"But still we are not delivered from controversy. It has been matter of question whether his Majesty dropped into the grave like fruit, by its own maturity, or whether he was shook by violence from the tree; and what is said on each side of the

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the question, serves rather to perplex the truth than reveal it. Thus it is said, 'That he had no sooner heard that Lord Allington, Lieutenant of the Tower (with whom it is also said he had drank chocolate some days before, and concerted measures to secure the Duke of York) was dead after a very strange manner, but he began to be afraid of his own life.' And yet it is agreed on all hands, says Welwood, that King Charles expressed no suspicion of his being poisoned, during all the time of his sickness. But, withal, he adds, "That during the fits, he could not speak; and that he shewed an aversion to speaking during the intervals. Our Historian of His Own Times is express, 'That there were many very apparent suspicions of his being poisoned: for though the first access looked like an apoplexy, yet it was plain in the progress of it, that it was no apoplexy.' But Dr. Welwood takes some pains to prove that the symptoms in his Majesty's case had but little relation to an apoplexy; for according to him, though that disease seizes all the vital faculties at once, it generally gives some short warnings of its approach, by unusual obstructions of the head; and many times is to be accounted for by some evident preceding cause: whereas, in King Charles's case, there appeared no visible cause either near or remote, to which, with any certainty of reason, his disease could be ascribed; and the forerunners of it were rather to be found in the stomach and the bowels, than in the head. Notwithstanding which, the same author intimates, that when his body was opened, there was not sufficient time given for taking an exact observation of those parts: and that when one of the physicians seemed to be more inquisitive than ordinary as to that matter,

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matter, he was taken aside and reproved for his needless curiosity. Bishop Burnet tells us that this physician was Needham; adding, 'That he called twice to have the stomach opened: that the surgeons seemed not to hear him: that when he moved it the second time, he heard Lower and another of the King's physicians say to one who stood next him, *Needham will undo us;—He may see they will not do it:* that he learnt this from Needham himself, as also that his reason for this motion was, the appearance of certain blue spots on the outside of the stomach; which Lower had also observed as well as he: that having been diverted to look on something else, when they returned to look on the stomach, it was carried away: and that Le Fevre, another of the inquest upon this occasion, discerning a blackness in one of the shoulders, caused it to be opened, and found it was mortified.' Welwood again pronounces, that his body stunk so extremely within a few hours after his death, notwithstanding the coldness of the season, that his attendants were extremely annoyed with the smell; which he specifies as a very extraordinary thing in one of his strong and healthful constitution, and no proper consequence of a mere apoplectical case.

"But notwithstanding all that appeared, and all that was concealed, these worthy gentlemen of the faculty, and who, in their way, had been the life-guard of the King, gave it under their hands, 'That he died of an apoplexy.'

"But however unanimous they were at the time of giving in this verdict, it seems they did not long continue so: Sir Edmund King, as we are told, wrote another paper afterwards, declaring, that the King had been poisoned, and would

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would have persuaded Lower to sign it with him; which he declined, because he had given in another opinion before. We are farther told, that Short, who was a Papist, made no scruple to declare to some of his intimate friends, that he believed King Charles had foul play done him: these are Welwood's expressions. Bishop Burnet's are, that Short did very much suspect foul dealing. And both these authors agree, that when he (Short) came to die himself, he discovered some suspicions (to Lower and Millington, says the latter; to Le Fevre, who afterwards denied it, says another writer) that he had met with the same treatment, for opening his mind too freely concerning the King's death. And the Duke of Bucks (Sheffield) in his character of this Prince, so far countenances these expressions as to say, 'I am obliged to observe, that the most knowing and most deserving of all his physicians did not only believe him poisoned, but thought himself so, not long after, for having declared his opinion a little too boldly.'

"Now there is nobody who can admit Dr. Burnet's reasoning, that because the King's case was not apoplectic, therefore there were apparent suspicions of poison: but Mr. North makes no difficulty to pronounce all that is said in relation to Dr. Short to be a shallow story. According to him, the words used by that Doctor; viz. foul play, or foul dealing, meant no more, than that Dr. King had mistaken the case: that bleeding was fatal in it; and that every method they afterwards pursued did him more hurt than good. And he farther says, that this was agreeable to the opinion of one Dr. Stokeham, an eminent physician in Convent-garden, who had declared to him, that the King's case was epileptic, not apoplec-

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apoplectic; and that, consequently, all that was done was diametrically wrong. And yet Dr. Short was not only of the consultation, but probably presided in it, and gave his own bias to the whole proceedings, as we shall find reasonable to conclude even from certain passages of Mr. North's own book; and from whence it follows, that the words 'foul play,' or 'foul dealing,' must relate to the cause of the malady, and not to the manner of treating it. One of these passages has been already cited; namely, that wherein it is said, that the King had a fever, and his physicians had ordered him the cortex: and the second is as follows—'but his case (Short's own case, that is to say) was known: he was attended by all the eminent physicians in town; and which of them says he was poisoned? But it is well known they all said, that he made an end of himself by his own bold methods in using the cortex.' Thus it appears, that Short was the patron of that medicine in those times, and pressed it almost into every service; which, according to the present practice, not only does honor to his judgment, but justifies what has been already insinuated, that he himself had the lead in the King's case; and, consequently, could not be understood to condemn his own prescription.

"But Mr. North is tenacious of his opinion; insinuates that scarce any man can be said to have fair play for his life, who labours under ten physicians, as the King did; observes, that in plot-work obscure hints go farther than clear speech; and that the propensity of the mind is ever to the malevolent side, which he exemplifies by another instance to the point before us, in these words:—'I heard a gentleman of value in the

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the law say, he asked a man (he thought could tell) if the King were poisoned, or no? and his answer was, *That he was not to reveal what he knew of that matter.* Who now, after this, takes not the worst sense? Whereas all that can be justly taken is, that the man was willing you should believe it, but would neither lie to convince you, nor speak plain to undeceive you.'

"Welwood is also candid enough to lay before his readers several considerations tending to prove that his Majesty died after the ordinary course of nature: as, 1. That he had lived so fast, as might enervate, in a great measure, the natural force of his constitution, exhaust his animal spirits, and thereby render him the more subject to an apoplexy; which (says he) is a disease that weakens and locks up those spirits from performing their functions. 2. That he had once or twice before been attacked by fits, that much resembled those of which he afterwards died: but then he will not allow those fits to have been of the apoplectic kind; but rather convulsive, as was evident by the violent distortions of his face, and of his whole body, while they were upon him. And, 3. He relates, that, for some time before his Majesty died, he had an issue in his leg, which had produced a very great discharge, and consequently must have produced as great a revulsion from his head; and that, though it was probably made for that end, and his physicians remonstrated the ill effects of discontinuing it, he suffered it to be dried up a few weeks before he died.

"On the other hand again, he tells us, 'There was some weight laid upon an accident, which had fallen out at Windsor, some years before his Majesty's death; where the King, after the fatigue

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tigue of riding, having drank more liberally than usual, retired to the next room, and, wrapping himself up in his cloak, fell asleep upon a couch. Having thus taken some repose, he returned to his company; and a servant of one of them, wrapping himself up in the same cloak, lay down in his place; which he had scarce done, before he was stabbed to the heart with a poniard, and in that condition was found dead.' He adds, 'That it was never known how it happened:' and what is stranger, that the matter was hushed up, and that no enquiry was made about it.

"Probably those who delight in the marvellous would have complained if this anecdote had been omitted: but if any weight was ever laid upon it, the story could very ill support it; for, if there was any room to suppose that the blow was aimed at the King, it is not to be supposed that the matter would have been hushed up without an enquiry: and if the poor fellow was killed in a fit of barbarous resentment, that he should have the insolence to make so free with his Majesty's place, as (if there is any truth in the tale) it is probable he was, then it has no relation to this controverted but real death of his Majesty; concerning which we find the Lord Delamere expressing himself to the Grand Jury of Cheshire in these very words:—'Whether he died a natural death, or had *foulplay*, I will leave to be determined by every man in his own thoughts: only thus much I must observe, that manifest symptoms of poison appeared on his body, and matters were then so laid, that it was *necessary* to have a Popish Prince on the Throne.'—Thus we have the crisis urged as a presumptive of the fact; but there would be more justice and impartiality in urging it as the cause that the suspicion was so greedily entertained, and so

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readily believed. To this purpose the Bishop of Salisbury has the grace to say, "But his dying so critically, as it were in the minute in which he seemed to begin a turn of affairs, made it to be generally the more believed, and that the Papists had done it, either by the means of some of the Lady Portsmouth's servants (he had before told us that the King had drank a little soup at her Grace's lodgings, the night before he was taken ill), or, as some fancied, by poisoned snuff; for so many of the small veins were burst, that the brain was in great disorder, and no judgment could be made concerning it.' Too much regard cannot be paid to the former part of this passage: but as to the latter, it only serves to shew, on how very imperfect evidence this notion of poison was founded; for if the stomach was the part affected by the dose, as we are to conclude from the story of Needham and Lower, then no conclusions are to be drawn from the state of the brain: if the brain was the part most remarkably disordered, then no conclusions are to be drawn from that circumstance relating to the stomach: if either may be false, it follows neither may be true: and where the premises are so uncertain, reason cannot, and integrity will not, make any certain inference. But then the same Prelate, in the same place, throws in by way of supplement, what he calls a very surprising story, on the authority of Mr. Henley, of Hampshire, as follows:—

"'He told me, that, when the Duchess of Portsmouth came over to England in the year 1699, he heard, that she had talked as if King Charles had been poisoned; which he desiring to have from her own mouth, she gave him this account of it: she was always pressing the King to make both himself and his people easy, and to

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to come to a full agreement with his Parliament: and he was come to a final resolution of sending away his brother, and of calling a Parliament; which was to be executed the next day after he fell into that fit of which he died. She was put upon the secret, and spoke of it to no person alive, but to her confessor: but the confessor, she believed, told it to some, who, seeing what was to follow, took that wicked course to prevent it. Having this from so worthy a person, as I have set it down, without adding the least circumstance to it, I thought it too important not to be mentioned in this history. It discovers both the knavery of confessors, and the practices of Papists so evidently, that there is no need of making any further reflections on it.'

"Who these some were, is left to conjecture: but then his lordship, with much ingenuity, declares, that he never heard that the suspicions of those times were ever fastened on the Prince who succeeded to the throne: and his Grace of Bucks winds up his character of King Charles with the following remarkable paragraph: 'but here I must needs take notice of an unusual piece of justice, which yet all the world has unanimously agreed in, I mean, in not suspecting his successor of the least contrivance in so horrid a villany: and perhaps there was never a more remarkable instance of the wonderful power of truth and innocence. For 'tis next to a miracle, that so unfortunate a Prince, in the midst of all those disadvantages he lies under, should be yet cleared of this, even by his greatest enemies, notwithstanding all those circumstances that use to give a suspicion, and that extreme malice which has, of late, attended him in all his other actions.' That unfortunate Prince has not, however, escaped wholly free from calumny,

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on this occasion; for, in defiance of both these authorities, a modern writer has been hardy enough to express himself as follows: 'It is said that the King, being one day importuned by the Duke to undertake things which he thought very dangerous, told him, *Brother, I am resolved never to travel again; you may do so if you please.* And it might, perhaps, not be difficult to prove, that some warm speeches had passed between them. After which King Charles was heard to say, that he had been abused, and that if he lived a month longer, &c. (as before recited.) This being carried to the Duke of York (as there ever were, and, probably, ever will be carriers among courtiers, as well as pigeons) he, in his natural way, replied, 'That then it was time to take care of himself. The oracles of Delphos were always ambiguous, and so was he in his manner of expressing himself.'

"This is the whole of the evidence that has yet appeared in this dubious case; and possibly from the very nature of that case, no more is ever likely to arise; for which reason all decision must, and ought to be postponed to the general Audit."

In addition to the foregoing extracts from Ralph's History of England, it is fit to subjoin the following curious anecdote relating to the same subject of the death of King Charles the Second, extracted from page 367, of a work intitled "Anecdotes, &c. by the Rev. Joseph Spence," published in 1820.

"The Duchess of Portsmouth, when she "was in England in 1699, told Lord Chancellor "Cowper, that Charles the Second was poisoned "at her house by one of her footmen, in a "dish of chocolate.—*Dean Cowper.*"

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